This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

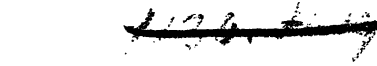
+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

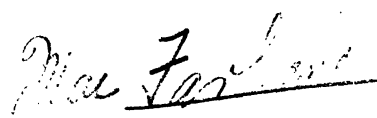
+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`





CB

CB
MacFarlane

CB

CRECY
POITIERS
THE
CABINET
History
OF
England
VOL. III.
HENRY III
RICHD. II
FROISSART
WALES

THE

CABINET

HISTORY OF ENGLAND;

BEING

AN ABRIDGMENT, BY THE AUTHOR,

OF THE CHAPTERS ENTITLED "CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY" IN "THE PICTORIAL HISTORY OF ENGLAND," WITH A CONTINUATION TO THE PRESENT TIME.

BY CHARLES MAC FARLANE.

VOLUME III.

NEW-YORK

LONDON:
CHARLES KNIGHT AND CO., LUDGATE STREET.
1845.

LONDON:
Printed by WILLIAM CLOWES and SONS,
Stamford Street.

CONTENTS.

BOOK III.—*Continued.*

A.D. 1064—1216.

CHAPTER I.—*Continued.*

Page

Henry II., surnamed Plantagenet 5

Richard I., surnamed Cœur de Lion 57

John, surnamed Sans-Terre, or Lackland . . 127

CHAPTER II.

Scottish Annals, &c. 165

CHAPTER III.

The History of Religion 190

BOOK IV.

CHAPTER I.

Henry III., surnamed of Winchester . . . 217

CABINET
HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BOOK III.—*Continued.*

A.D. 1064—1216.

CHAPTER I.—*Continued.*

HENRY II.—SURNAMED PLANTAGENET.

IN the preceding Book, the sketch of Irish history was brought down to the reign of Turlogh, the commencement of which is assigned to the year 1064. Turlogh, however, like his uncle Donchad, whom he had succeeded, and Donchad's father, the great O'Brien, is scarcely acknowledged by the old annalists as having been a legitimate king, not being of the blood of the O'Niells of Ulster, in which line, say the rather inventive Irish historians, the supreme sceptre had been transmitted, with scarcely any interruption till its seizure by Brien, from the time of O'Niell, or Nial, of the Nine Hostages, who flourished in the beginning of the fifth century. The long acquiescence of the other provincial regal houses in the superiority thus assumed by that of Ulster was broken by the usurpation of the Munster O'Briens, and we shall find that ere long both the O'Connors of Connaught and the MacMurroghs of Leinster made their appearance on the scene as competitors for the prize of chief dominion along with the other two families. The whole history of the country from this date is merely the history of these contests for the crown.

Turlogh, who kept his court in the palace of his ances-

tors, the Kings of Munster, at Kinkora, in Clare, died there in July, 1086. His second son, Murtach, or Murkertach, acquired the sole possession of the throne of Munster by the death of one of his two brothers and the banishment of the other; but his attempt to retain the supreme monarchy in his family was resisted by the other provincial kings, who united in supporting, against his claims, those of Domnal MacLochlin, or Donald MacLachlan, the head of the ancient royal house of O'Niell. At last, after much fighting, it was arranged, at a solemn convention held in 1094, that the island should be divided between the two competitors, the southern half, called Leath Mogh, or Mogh's Half, remaining subject to Murtach, and the northern, called Leath Cuinn, or Conn's Half, being resigned to the dominion of MacLochlin. This was a well-known ancient division, which in former times, even when the nominal sovereignty of the whole country was conceded to the Kings of Ulster, had often left those of Munster in possession not only of the actual independence but of a share of the supremacy over both Connaught and Leinster; for the line of partition was drawn right across the island from the neighbourhood of the town of Galway to Dublin, and consequently cut through each of these provinces. With this real equality in extent of dominion and authority between the two houses, one circumstance chiefly had for a long period held in check the rising fortunes of that of Munster, the law or custom, namely, of the succession to the crown in that province, which was divided into two principalities, Desmond, or South Munster, and Thomond, or North Munster, the reigning families of which, by an arrangement somewhat similar to that which has been described as anciently subsisting in the Scottish monarchy,* enjoyed the supreme sovereignty alternately. The two lines of princes derived this right of equal participation from the will of their common ancestor Olill Ollum; those of Desmond, which comprehended the present counties of Kerry, Cork, and Waterford, being descended from that king's eldest son Eogan, whence the people of that principality

* See vol. ii.

were called Eoganacths, or Eugenians; while the princes of Thomond, which consisted of Clare, Limerick, and the greater part of Tipperary, were sprung from his second son Cormac Cas, whence their subjects took the name of Dalgais, or Dalcassians. But Brien Boru, himself of the Dalcassian family, had begun his course of inroad upon the ancient institutions of his country by setting at defiance the rights of his Eugenian kindred, and had possessed himself, by usurpation, of the provincial throne of Munster before he seized upon the supreme power. The Munster kings had ever since continued to be of his race.

The compact between MacLochlin and Murtach did not put an end to their contention. Several more battles were fought between them, till at length, in 1103, Murtach sustained a defeat at Cobha, in Tyrone, which so greatly weakened his power as to prevent him from ever after giving his adversary any serious annoyance. They continued to reign, however, MacLochlin at Aileach or Alichia, in Donegal, Murtach at Cashel, till the death of the latter, in 1119, after he had spent the last three or four years of his life in a monastery, the management of affairs having been meanwhile left in the hands of his brother Dermot. From the date of the death of Murtach, MacLochlin is regarded as having been sole monarch; but he also died in 1121.

Fifteen years of confusion followed, during which a contest between various competitors for the supreme authority spread war and devastation over every part of the country. At last, in 1136, Turlogh, or Tordelvac, O'Connor, King of Connaught, was acknowledged monarch of all Ireland; the ancient sceptre of the O'Niells thus passing a second time into a new house. O'Connor, however, had to maintain himself on the throne he had thus acquired by a great deal of hard fighting with his neighbours and rivals. Connor O'Brien, the King of Munster, who had vigorously opposed his elevation, and his successor Turlogh O'Brien, did not cease to dispute his power, till the overthrow of the latter at the great battle of Moinmor, fought in 1151, placed Munster for

the moment completely under the tread of the victor. O'Brien was driven from his kingdom, and the territory was again divided into two principalities, over which O'Connor set two princes of the Eugenian House that had some time before joined him in his contest with the Dalcassians. A few years after, however, the expelled king was restored by the interference of Murtogh O'Lochlin, or Murtach Mac Lachlan, O'Niell, the King of Ulster, and the legitimate heir of the ancient monarchs of Ireland, who now also took arms to recover for himself the throne of his ancestors. With this new rival, O'Connor, for whom his martial reign has procured from the annalists the title of The Great, continued at war during the remainder of his life; and at his death, in 1156, O'Lochlin was acknowledged supreme king. Some opposition was made to his accession by Roderick O'Connor, the son of the late king, and his successor to the provincial throne of Connaught; but he also, at last, as well as the princes of Munster and Leinster, acquiesced in the restoration of the old sovereign house, and submitted to O'Niell.

The rule of Murtogh O'Lochlin was distinguished by vigour and ability; but its close was unfortunate. He was killed, along with many of his nobility, in 1166, in a battle with a some insurgent chiefs of his own province of Ulster, to whom he had given abundant cause for taking up arms against him, if it be true that, after having been professedly reconciled to one of them with whom he had had a quarrel, and sealing the compact by the acceptance of hostages, he had suddenly seized the unfortunate chief, together with three of his friends, and caused his eyes to be put out, and them to be put to death. On his decease the sovereignty of Ireland devolved upon his rival, Roderick O'Connor, of Connaught, the son of its former possessor, O'Connor the Great.

Up to this time almost the only connection between England and Ireland was that of the commerce carried on between some of the opposite ports; scarcely any political intercourse had ever taken place between the two countries. Her church, indeed, attached Ireland to the

rest of Christendom; and some correspondence is still preserved, that passed between her kings and prelates and the English archbishops Lanfranc and Anselm, relating chiefly to certain points in which the latter conceived the ecclesiastical discipline of the neighbouring island to stand in need of reformation. The bishops also of the Danish towns in Ireland appear to have been usually consecrated by the Archbishop of Canterbury. But almost the single well-authenticated instance of any interference by the one nation in the civil affairs of the other since the Norman Conquest, was in the rebellion of Robert de Belesme, in the beginning of the reign of Henry I., when that nobleman's brother, Arnulph de Montgomery, is said by some of the Welsh chroniclers to have passed over to Ireland, and to have there obtained from King Murtach O'Brien, both supplies for the war and the hand of his daughter for himself. It is said, indeed, that both the Conqueror and Henry I. had meditated the subjugation of Ireland; and Malmesbury affirms that the latter English king had Murtach and his successors so entirely at his devotion, that they wrote nothing but adulation of him, nor did anything but what he ordered.[1]

It would appear that a project of conquest had been entertained by Henry II., from the very commencement of his reign. The same year in which he came to the throne, witnessed the elevation to the popedom of the only Englishman that ever wore the triple crown—Nicholas Breakspear, who assumed the name of Adrian IV. Very soon after his coronation, Henry sent an embassy to Rome, at the head of which was the learned John of Salisbury, ostensibly to congratulate Adrian on his accession, but really to solicit the new pope for his sanction to the scheme of the conquest of Ireland. Adrian granted a bull, in the terms or to the effect desired. Before the end of the same year, the matter was submitted by Henry to a great council of his barons; but the undertaking was opposed by many of those present, and especially by his mother, the empress; and in consequence it was for the present given up.

Henry's attention was not recalled to the subject till many years after. The course of the story now carries

us back again to Ireland, and to another of the provincial kings of that country of whom we have yet said nothing, Dermond MacMurrogh, or Dermot Mac Murchad, King of Lagenia, or Leinster. This prince had early signalized himself by his sanguinary ferocity, even on a scene where all the actors were men of blood and violence. So far back as the year 1140, in order to break the power of his nobility, he had seventeen of the chief of them seized at once, all of whom that he did not put to death he deprived of their eyes. His most noted exploit, however, was of a different character. Dervorgilla, a lady of great beauty, was the wife of Tiernan O'Ruarc, the lord of Breffny, a district in Leinster, and the old enemy of MacMurrogh. The sworn foe of her husband, however, was the object of Dervorgilla's guilty passion; and, at her own suggestion, it is said, when her husband was absent on a military expedition, the King of Leinster came and carried her off. This happened in the year 1153, when the supreme sovereignty was in the possession of Turlogh O'Connor. To him O'Ruarc applied for the means of avenging his wrong, and received from him such effective assistance as to be enabled to recover both his wife and the property she had carried off with her. But from this time MacMurrogh and O'Ruarc kept up a spiteful contest, with alternating fortunes, for many years. So long as Turlogh lived O'Ruarc had a steady ally in the common sovereign, and the King of Leinster was effectually kept in check by their united power. The succeeding reign of O'Lochlin, on the other hand, was, for the whole of the ten years that it lasted, a period of triumphant revenge to MacMurrogh. But the recovery of the supremacy, on O'Loghlin's death, by the House of O'Connor, at last put an end to the long and bitter strife. A general combination was now formed against the King of Leinster; King Roderick, the Lord of Breffny, and his father-in-law, the Prince of Meath, united their forces for the avowed purpose of driving him from his kingdom; they were joined by many of his own subjects, both Irish and Danish, to whom his tyranny had rendered him odious; and O'Ruarc put himself at the head of the whole. MacMurrogh made some effort to defend himself, but finding

himself deserted by all, he sought safety in flight, and left his kingdom for the present to the disposal of his conquerors. They set another prince of his own family on the vacant throne. Meanwhile the deposed and fugitive king had embarked for England.

MacMurrogh's purpose in setting sail for England was to seek the aid of King Henry, to enable him to recover his kingdom, in return for which he was ready to acknowledge himself the vassal of the English monarch. On landing at Bristol, some time in the summer of 1167, he found that Henry was on the continent, and thither he immediately proceeded. Henry, when he came to him in Aquitaine, was "busied," says Giraldus, "in great and weighty affairs, yet most courteously he received him and liberally rewarded him. And the king, having at large and orderly heard the causes of his exile, and of his repair unto him, he took his oath of allegiance and swore him to be his true vassal and subject, and thereupon granted and gave his letters patent in manner and form as followeth: 'Henry, King of England, Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and Earl of Anjou, unto all his subjects, Englishmen, Normans, Scots, and all other nations and people being his subjects, sendeth greeting. Whensoever these our letters shall come unto you, know ye that we have received Dermond, Prince of Leinster, into our protection, grace, and favour; wherefore, whosoever within our jurisdiction will aid and help him, our trusty subject, for the recovery of his land, let him be assured of our favour and license in that behalf."*

It would scarcely appear, from the tenor of these merely permissive letters, that Henry looked forward to any result so important as the conquest of Ireland; the other "great and weighty affairs" had long withdrawn his thoughts from that project; and embarrassed both by his war with the French king, and his more serious contest with Becket at home, he was at present as little as

* Giraldus Cambrensis (Gerald the Welshman). This writer's real name was Gerald Barry. He was nearly related to some of the chief personages who figure in the story of the conquest of Ireland, and he was living in Ireland at the time.

ever in a condition to resume the serious consideration of it. MacMurrogh, however, returned to England well satisfied with what he had got. "And by his daily journeying," proceeds Giraldus, "he came at length unto the noble town of Bristow (Bristol), where, because ships and boats did daily repair, and come from out of Ireland, he, very desirous to hear of the state of his people and country, did, for a time, sojourn and make his abode; and whilst he was there, he would oftentimes cause the king's letters to be openly read, and did then offer great entertainment and promised liberal wages to all such as would help or serve him; but it served not." At length, however, he chanced to meet Richard de Clare, Earl of Pembroke, surnamed Strongbow, with whom he soon came to an agreement. Strongbow, on the promise of the hand of Dermond's eldest daughter, Eva, and the succession to the throne of Leinster, engaged to come over to Ireland with a sufficient military force to effect the deposed king's restoration in the following spring. A short time after this, Dermond, having gone to the town of St. David's, there made another engagement with two young noblemen, Maurice Fitzgerald and Robert Fitzstephen, both sons of the Lady Nesta, a daughter of one of the Welsh princes, who, after having been mistress to Henry I., married Gerald, governor of Pembroke Castle, and Lord of Carew, and finally became mistress to Stephen de Marisco, or Maurice, constable of the castle of Cardigan: Fitzgerald was her son by her marriage, and Fitzstephen by her last-mentioned connexion. To these two half-brothers, in consideration of their coming over to him with a certain force at the same time with Strongbow, Dermond engaged to grant the town of Wexford, with two cantreds (or hundreds) of land adjoining, in fee for ever. These arrangements being completed, "Dermond," continues the historian, "being weary of his exiled life and distressed estate, and therefore the more desirous to draw homewards for the recovery of his own, and for which he had so long travelled and sought abroad, he first went to the church of St. David's to make his orisons and prayers, and then,

the weather being fair and wind good, he adventured the seas about the middle of August, and having a merry passage, he shortly landed in his ungrateful country; and, with a very impatient mind, hazarded himself among and through the middle of his enemies; and, coming safely to Ferns, he was very honourably received of the clergy there, who after their ability did refresh and succour him. But he for a time dissembling his princely estate, continued as a private man all that winter following among them." It would appear, however, that he was rash enough to show himself in arms in the beginning of the year 1169, before any of his promised English succours had arrived; and that the result of this premature attempt was, that he was again easily beaten by King Roderick and O'Ruarc.

His allies in England meanwhile did not forget him. Robert Fitzstephen was the first to set out about the beginning of May, accompanied with thirty gentlemen of his own kindred, sixty men in coats of mail, and three hundred picked archers; they shipped themselves in three small vessels, and sailing right across from St. David's Head, landed at a creek now called the Bann, about twelve miles to the south of the city of Wexford. Along with them also came the paternal uncle of Strongbow, Hervey de Montemarisco, or Mountmaurice. On the day following, two more vessels arrived at the same place, bearing Maurice of Prendergast, "a lusty and a hardy man, born about Milford, in West Wales," with ten more gentlemen and sixty archers. MacMurrogh was not long in hearing of their arrival, on which he instantly sent 500 men to join them under his illegitimate son Donald, and "very shortly after he himself also followed with great joy and gladness."*

It was now determined to march upon the town of Wexford. "When they of the town," proceeds the narrative, "heard thereof, they being a fierce and unruly people, but yet much trusting to their wonted fortune, came forth about 2000 of them, and were determined to wage and give battle." On beholding the imposing

* Giraldus Cambrensis.

armour and array of the English, however, they drew back, and, setting the suburbs on fire, took refuge within the walls of the town. For that day all the efforts of the assailants to effect an entrance were vain. The next morning, after the solemn celebration of mass, they made ready to renew the assault upon the town; but the besieged, seeing this, lost heart, and saved them further trouble by offering to surrender. Four of the chief inhabitants were given up to MacMurrogh as pledges for the fidelity of their fellow-citizens; and he, on his part, immediately performed his promise to his English friends by making over to Fitzstephen and Fitzgerald the town that had thus fallen into his hands, with the territories thereunto adjoining and appertaining. To Hervey of Mountmaurice he also gave two cantreds, lying along the sea-side between Wexford and Waterford.

This first exploit was followed up by an incursion into the district of Ossory, the prince of which had well earned the enmity of MacMurrogh by having some years before seized his eldest son, and put out his eyes. The Ossorians at first boldly stood their ground, and as long as they kept to their bogs and woods, the invading force, though now increased by an accession from the town of Wexford to about 3000 men, made little impression upon them; but at last they were imprudent enough to allow themselves to be drawn into the open country, when Robert Fitzstephen fell upon them with a body of horse, and threw down the ill-armed and unprotected multitude, or scattered them in all directions: those that were thrown to the ground the foot-soldiers straight dispatched, cutting off their heads with their battle-axes. Three hundred bleeding heads were laid at the feet of MacMurrogh, "who, turning every of them, one by one, to know them, did then for joy hold up both his hands, and with a loud voice thanked God most highly. Among these there was the head of one whom especially and above all the rest he mortally hated; and he, taking up that by the hair and ears, with his teeth most horribly and cruelly bit away his nose and lips!" So nearly did an Irish king of the twelfth century resemble a modern

savage chief of New Zealand. After this disaster, the people of Ossory made no further resistance; they suffered their invaders to march across the whole breadth of their country, murdering, spoiling, burning, and laying waste wherever they passed.

All this had taken place before anything was heard of MacMurrogh's old enemies, King Roderick and O'Ruarc, whom surprise and alarm seem to have deprived at first of the power of action. But news was now brought that the monarch was levying an army, and that the princes and nobility of the land were, at his call, about to meet in a great council at the ancient royal seat of Tara, in Meath. On receiving this intelligence, MacMurrogh and his English friends, withdrawing from Ossory, took up a position of great natural strength in the midst of the hills and bogs in the neighbourhood of Ferns. Their small force was speedily surrounded by the numerous army of King Roderick, and it would seem that, if they could not have been attacked in their stronghold, they might have been starved into a surrender, at no great expense of patience. But notwithstanding the inferiority of their numbers, Roderick appears to have been a good deal more afraid of them than they were of him: disunion had broken out in the council, which, after assembling at Tara, had adjourned to Dublin; and the Irish king had probably reason to fear that, if he could not bring the affair to a speedy termination, he would soon be left in no condition to keep the field at all.

In this feeling he attempted, by presents and promises, to seduce Fitzstephen; failing in that, he next tried to persuade MacMurrogh to come over and make common cause with his countrymen against the foreigners; at last, when there was reason to apprehend that the enemy, encouraged by these manifestations of timidity, were about to come out and attack him, he actually sent messengers to sue for peace; on which, after some negotiation, it was agreed that MacMurrogh should be reinstated in his kingdom.

It does not appear what terms MacMurrogh professed to make in his treaty for his English allies. It is affirmed, that it was agreed between him and Roderick,

that he should send them all home as soon as he had restored his kingdom to order, and in the mean time should procure no more of them to come over. But other forces were already on their way from England, and those in Ireland looked to remain there. This was soon proved by the arrival at Wexford of two more ships, bringing over Maurice Fitzgerald, with an additional force of ten gentlemen, thirty horsemen, and about a hundred archers and foot soldiers. On receiving this accession of strength, MacMurrogh immediately cast his recent engagements and oaths to the winds. His first movement with his new auxiliaries was against the city of Dublin, which had not fully returned to its submission: he soon compelled the citizens to sue for peace, to swear fealty to him, and to give hostages. He then sent a party of his English friends to assist his son-in-law, the Prince of Limerick, whose territory had been attacked by King Roderick. The royal forces were speedily defeated.

From this time MacMurrogh and the English adventurers seem to have raised their hopes to nothing short of the conquest of the whole country. By their advice, he dispatched messengers to England to urge the Earl of Pembroke to come over with his force immediately. All Leinster, he said, was completely reduced, and there could be no doubt that the earl's presence, with the force he had engaged to bring with him, would soon add the other provinces to that.

Strongbow deemed it prudent, before he took any decided step, to inform King Henry of the proposal that had been made to him. Henry, with his usual deep policy, would only answer his request evasively; but the earl ventured to understand him in a favourable sense, and returned home with his mind made up to make the venture. As soon as the winter was over, he sent to Ireland, as the first portion of his force, ten gentlemen and seventy archers, under the command of his relations, Raymond Fitzwilliam, surnamed, from his corpulency, Le Gros, or the Gross. He and his company landed at a rock about four miles east from the city of Waterford, then called Dundonolf, afterwards the site of the castle of Dundorogh, in the

beginning of May, 1170. They had scarcely time to cast a trench and to build themselves a temporary fort of turf and twigs, when they were attacked by a body of 3000 of the people of Waterford; but this mob were scattered with frightful slaughter. Five hundred of them were cut down in the pursuit; and, then, as Giraldus asserts, the "victors being weary with killing, cast a great number of those whom they had taken prisoners headlong from the rocks into the seas, and so drowned them."

The Earl of Pembroke did not set sail till the beginning of September. He then embarked at Milford Haven with a force of two hundred gentlemen and a thousand inferior fighting men, and on the vigil of St. Bartholomew landed in the neighbourhood of the city of Waterford, which still remained unreduced. On the following day, Raymond le Gros came with great joy to welcome him, attended by forty of his company. "And on the morrow, upon St. Bartholomew's day, being Tuesday, they displayed their banners, and in good array they marched to the walls of the city, being fully bent and determined to give the assault." The citizens, however, defended themselves with great spirit; and the assailants were twice driven back from the walls. But Raymond, who, by the consent of all, had been appointed to the command, now "having espied a little house of timber, standing half upon posts without the walls, called his men together, and encouraged them to give a new assault at that place; and having hewed down the posts whereupon the house stood, the same fell down, together with a piece of the town wall; and then, a way being thus opened, they entered into the city, and killed the people in the streets without pity or mercy, leaving them lying in great heaps; and thus, with bloody hands, they obtained a bloody victory." MacMurrogh arrived along with Fitzgerald and Fitzstephen while the work of plunder and carnage was still proceeding; and it was in the midst of the desolation which followed the sacking of the miserable city, that, in fulfilment of his compact with Strongbow, the marriage ceremony was solemnized between his daughter Eva and that nobleman.

Immediately after this they again spread their banners, and set out on their march for Dublin. The inhabitants of that city, who were mostly of Danish race, had taken the precaution of stationing troops at different points along the common road from Waterford; but MacMurrogh led his followers by another way among the mountains, and to the consternation of the citizens made his appearance before the walls ere they were aware that he had left Waterford. A negotiation was attempted, but, while it was still going on, Raymond and his friend Miles, or Milo, de Cogan, "more willing to purchase honour in the wars than gain it in peace, with a company of lusty young gentlemen suddenly ran to the walls, and giving the assault, brake in, entered the city, and obtained the victory, making no small slaughter of their enemies." Leaving Dublin in charge of Milo de Cogan, Strongbow next proceeded, on the instigation of MacMurrogh, to invade the district of Meath, anciently considered the fifth province of Ireland, and set apart as the peculiar territory of the supreme sovereign, but which King Roderick had lately made over to his friend O'Ruarc. The Anglo-Norman chief, although he seems to have met with no resistance from the inhabitants, now laid it waste from one end to the other. While all this was going on, the only effort in behalf of his crown or his country that Roderick is recorded to have made, was the sending a rhetorical message to MacMurrogh, commanding him to return to his allegiance and dismiss his foreign allies, if he did not wish that the life of his son, whom he had left in pledge, should be sacrificed. To this threat MacMurrogh at once replied that he never would desist from his enterprise until he had not only subdued all Connaught, but won to himself the monarchy of all Ireland. Infuriated by this defiance, the other savage instantly gave orders to cut off MacMurrogh's son's head.

But now the adventurers were struck on a sudden with no little perplexity by the arrival of a proclamation from King Henry prohibiting the passing of any more ships from any port in England to Ireland, and commanding all his subjects now in the latter country to return from

thence before Easter, on pain of forfeiting all their lands and being for ever banished from the realm. A consultation being held in this emergency, it was resolved that Raymond le Gros should be dispatched to the king, who was in Aquitaine, with letters from Strongbow reminding Henry that he had taken up the cause of Dermond MacMurrogh (as he conceived) with the royal permission; and acknowledging for himself and his companions, that whatever they had acquired in Ireland, either by gift or otherwise, they considered not their own, but as held for him their liege lord, and as being at his absolute disposal. The immediate effect of the proclamation was to deal a heavy blow at their cause, by the discouragement it spread among their adherents, and by cutting off the supplies both of men and victuals they had counted upon receiving from England.

Things were in this state when a new enemy suddenly appeared—a body of Danes and Norwegians brought to attack the city of Dublin by its former Danish ruler, who had made his escape when it was lately taken, and had been actively employed ever since in preparing and fitting out this armament. They came in sixty ships, and as soon as they had landed proceeded to the assault. "They were all mighty men of war," says the description of them in Giraldus, "and well appointed after the Danish manner." The attack was made upon the east gate of the city, and Milo de Cogan soon found that the small force under his command could make no effective resistance. But the good fortune that had all along waited upon him and his associates was still true to them. His brother, seeing how he was pressed, led out a few men by the south gate, and, attacking the assailants from behind, spread such confusion through their ranks, that after a short effort to recover themselves, they gave way to their panic and took to flight. Great numbers of them were slain, and their leader himself, being taken prisoner, so exasperated the Anglo-Norman commander when he was brought into his presence, that Milo de Cogan ordered his head to be struck off on the spot.

It would appear to have been not long after this that

Dermond MacMurrogh died, on which it is said that Strongbow took the title and assumed the authority of King of Leinster in right of his wife. Raymond le Gros had now also returned from Aquitaine; he had delivered the letter with which he was charged, but Henry had sent no answer, and had not even admitted him to his presence. Meanwhile, on the side of the Irish, there was one individual, Laurence, Archbishop of Dublin, who saw that the moment was favourable for yet another effort to save the country. Chiefly by his exertions, a great confederacy was formed of all the native princes, together with those of Man and the other surrounding islands, and a force was assembled around Dublin, with King Roderick as its commander-in-chief, of the amount, it is affirmed, of thirty thousand men. Strongbow, and Raymond, and Maurice Fitzgerald had all thrown themselves into the city, but their united forces did not make twice as many hundreds as the enemy numbered thousands. For the space of two months, however, the investing force appears to have sat still in patient expectation. Their hope was, that want of victuals would compel the garrison to surrender; and at length a message came from Strongbow, and a negotiation was opened; but before any arrangement was concluded, an extraordinary turn of fortune suddenly changed the whole position of affairs. While the besieged were anxiously deliberating on what it would be best for them to do, Donald Kavenagh, a son of the late King MacMurrogh, contrived to make his way into the city, and informed them that their friend Fitzstephen was besieged by the people of Wexford in his castle of Carrig, near that place, and that, if not relieved within a few days, he would assuredly, with his wife and children, and the few men who were with him, fall into the hands of the enemy. Fitzgerald proposed, and Raymond seconded the gallant counsel, that, rather than seek to preserve their lives with the loss of all besides, they should make a bold attempt to cut their way to their distressed comrades, and, at the worst, die like soldiers and knights. The animating appeal nerved every heart. With all

speed each man got ready and buckled on his armour, and the little band was soon set in array in three divisions. All things being thus arranged, about the hour of nine in the morning they suddenly rushed forth from one of the gates, and threw themselves upon the vast throng of the enemy, whom their sudden onset so bewildered and confounded, that, while many were killed or thrown to the ground, the bold assailants scarcely encountered any resistance, and in a short time the scattered host was flying before them in all directions. King Roderick himself escaped with difficulty, and almost undressed, for he had been regaling himself with the luxury of a bath. Great store of victuals, armour, and other spoils was found in the deserted camp, with which the victors returned at night to the city, and there set everything in order, and left a garrison well provided with all necessaries, before setting out the next morning to the relief of their friends at Wexford.

The earl and his company marched on unopposed till they came to a narrow pass in the midst of bogs, in a district called the Odrone or Idrone. Here they found the way blocked up by a numerous force, but after a sharp action, in which the Irish leader fell, they succeeded in overcoming this hindrance, and were enabled to pursue their journey. They had nearly reached Wexford when intelligence was received that Fitzstephen and his companions were in the hands of the enemy. After standing out for several days against the repeated attacks of 3000 men, he and those with him, consisting of only five gentlemen and a few archers, had been induced to deliver up the fort on receiving an assurance, solemnly confirmed by the oaths of the Bishops of Kildare and Wexford, and others of the clergy, that Dublin had fallen, and that the earl, with all the rest of their friends there, were killed. They promised Fitzstephen that, if he would surrender, they would conduct him to a place of safety, and secure him and his men from the vengeance of King Roderick. But as soon as they had got possession of their persons, "some," according to Giraldus, "they killed, some they beat, some they wounded,

and some they cast into prison." Fitzstephen himself they carried away with them to an island called Beg-Eri, or Little Erin, lying not far from Wexford, having fled thither, after setting that town on fire, when they heard that Strongbow had got out of Dublin and was on his march to their district. They now sent to inform the earl, that, if he continued his approach, they would cut off the heads of Fitzstephen and his companions. Deterred by this threat, Strongbow deemed it best to turn aside from Wexford, and to take his way to Waterford.

Meanwhile, it had been determined to make another application to Henry; and Hervey of Fitzmaurice had been dispatched to England for that purpose. On reaching Waterford, Strongbow found Hervey there just returned, with the king's commands, that the earl should repair to him without delay. He and Hervey accordingly took ship. As soon as they landed, they proceeded to where Henry was, at Newnham, in Gloucestershire. He had returned from the continent about two months before, and had ever since been actively employed in collecting and equipping an army and fleet, and making other preparations for passing over into Ireland. When Strongbow presented himself, he at first refused to see him; but after a short time he consented to receive his offers of entire submission. It was agreed that the earl should surrender to the king, in full possession, the city of Dublin, and all other towns and forts which he held along the coast of Ireland; on which condition he should be allowed to retain the rest of his acquisitions under subjection to the English crown. This arrangement being concluded, the king, attended by Strongbow and other lords, embarked at Milford. His force consisted of 500 knights or gentlemen, and about 4000 common soldiers. He landed at a place now called the Crook, near Waterford, on the 18th of October, 1171.

In the short interval that had elapsed since the departure of Strongbow, another attack had been made upon Dublin by Tiernan O'Ruarc; but the forces of the Irish prince were dispersed with great slaughter in a sudden sally by Milo de Cogan. This proved the last

effort, for the present, of Irish independence. When the English king made his appearance in the country, he found its conquest already achieved, and nothing remaining for him to do except to receive the eagerly-offered submission of its various princes and chieftains. The first that presented themselves were the citizens of Wexford, who had so treacherously obtained possession of the person of Fitzstephen; they endeavoured to make a merit of this discreditable exploit—bringing their prisoner along with them as a rebellious subject, whom they had seized while engaged in making war without the consent of his sovereign. Before Henry removed from Waterford, the King of Cork, or Desmond, came to him of his own accord, and took his oath of fealty. From Waterford he proceeded with his army to Lismore, and thence to Cashel, near to which city, on the banks of the Suir, he received the homage of the other chief Munster prince, the King of Thomond or Limerick. The Prince of Ossory and the other inferior chiefs of Munster hastened to follow the example of their betters; and Henry, after receiving their submission, and leaving garrisons both in Cork and Limerick, returned through Tipperary to Waterford. Soon after, leaving Robert Fitzbernard in command there, he set out for Dublin. Wherever he stopped on his march, the neighbouring princes and chiefs repaired to him, and acknowledged themselves his vassals. Among them was Tiernan O'Ruarc. "But Roderick, the monarch," it is added, "came no nearer than to the side of the riven Shannon, which divideth Connaught from Meath, and there Hugh de Lacy and William Fitzaldelm, by the king's commandment, met him, who, desiring peace, submitted himself, swore allegiance, became tributary, and did put in (as all others did) hostages and pledges for the keeping of the same. Thus was all Ireland, saving Ulster, brought in subjection." After this, Henry kept his Christmas in Dublin, the feast being held in a temporary erection, constructed, after the Irish fashion, of wicker-work.

Henry remained in Ireland for some months longer, and during his stay called together a council of the clergy

at Cashel, at which a number of constitutions or decrees were passed for the regulation of the church, and the reform of the ecclesiastical discipline, in regard to certain points where its laxity had long afforded matter of complaint and reproach. He is also said, by Matthew Paris, to have held a lay council at Lismore, at which provision was made for the extension to Ireland of the English laws. Henry employed all his arts of policy to attach Raymond le Gros and the other principal English adventurers settled in Ireland to his interest, that he might thereby the more weaken the Earl of Pembroke and strengthen himself. At last, about the middle of Lent, ships arrived both from England and Aquitaine, and brought such tidings as determined the king to lose no time in again taking his way across the sea. So, having appointed Hugh de Lacy to be governor of Dublin, and as such his chief representative in his realm of Ireland, he set sail from Wexford at sunrise on Easter Monday, the 17th of April, 1172, and about noon of the same day landed at Portfinnan, in Wales.

It is probable that Henry's very imperfect occupation of Ireland did not greatly increase his resources, but it added to his reputation both in England and on the continent. The envy that accompanied his successes, and the old jealousy of his power, might have failed to do him any serious injury, or touch any sensitive part, but for the dissensions existing in his own family. At this period the king had four sons living—Henry, Richard, Geoffrey, and John—of the respective ages of eighteen, sixteen, fifteen, and five years. He had been an indulgent father, and had made a splendid, and what he considered a judicious, provision, for them all. His eldest son was to succeed, not only to England, but to Normandy, Anjou, Maine, and Touraine; Richard was invested with the states of his mother, Aquitaine and Poictou; Geoffrey was to have Brittany, in right of his wife, the daughter of Conan; and Ireland was destined to be the appanage of John.

At the coronation of Prince Henry by the Archbishop of York, which had already occasioned much trouble,

his consort, the daughter of the French king, was not allowed to be crowned with him; and this omission being resented by Louis, led to fresh quarrels. The king at last consented that the ceremony should be repeated; and Margaret was then crowned as well as her husband. Soon after this ceremony, the young couple visited the French court, where Louis stimulated the impatient ambition of his youthful son-in-law, and incited him to an unnatural rebellion against his own father. It had been the practice in France, ever since the establishment of the Capetian dynasty, to crown the eldest son during the father's lifetime, without giving him any present share of the territories or government; but young Henry was persuaded by Louis, that, by being crowned, he obtained a right of immediate participation; and, as soon as he returned, he expressed his desire that the king, his father, would resign to him either England or Normandy. Henry rejected this strange demand, telling the youth to have patience till his death, when he would have states and power enough. His son expressed astonishment at the refusal, used very undutiful language, and never more exchanged words of real love or sincere peace with his parent. The vindictive Eleanor gave encouragement to her son, and fomented his horrible hatred; and the "elder king,"* as Henry was now called, was punished for the infidelities which had long since alienated the affections of his wife. Being at Limoges, Raymond, the Earl of Toulouse, who had quarrelled with the King of France, and renounced his allegiance, went suddenly to Henry, and warned him to have an eye on his wife and son, and make sure of the castles of Poictou and Aquitaine. Without showing his suspicions to young Henry, who was with him, the king contrived to provision his fortresses, and assure himself of the fidelity of the commanders. On their return from Aquitaine, he and his son stopped to sleep at the town of Chinon; and during the night the son fled. The father pursued, but could not overtake the fugitive,

* Rex senior.

who reached Argenton, and thence passed by night into the territories of the French king.

A.D. 1173 (March). A few days after the flight of Henry, his brothers Richard and Geoffrey also fled to the French court, and Queen Eleanor herself, who had urged them to the step, absconded from her husband. Though not for any love that he bore her, the king was anxious to recover his wife; and at his orders the Norman bishops threatened her with the censures of the church, unless she returned and brought her sons with her. She was seized as she was trying to find her way to the French court (where she must have met her former husband), dressed in man's clothes. Henry, the husband of her old age, was not so soft and meek towards her as Louis, the consort of her youthful years. He committed her to the custody of one of his most trustworthy chatelains; and with the exception of a few weeks, when her presence was necessary for a political object, she was kept in confinement for sixteen years,* and not liberated till after his death. Before matters came to extremities, Henry dispatched two bishops to the French court to demand, in the name of paternal authority, that his fugitive sons should be delivered up to him. Louis received these ambassadors in a public manner, having at his right hand young Henry, who wore his crown as King of England; and when they recapitulated, as usual, the titles and style of their employer, they were told that there was no other King of England than the one beside him. In fact, young Henry was recognised as sole King of England in a general assembly of the barons and bishops of the kingdom of France. King Louis swore first, and his lords swore after him, to aid and assist the son with all their might to expel his father from his kingdom; and then young Henry swore first, and his brothers swore after him, in the order of their seniority, that they would never conclude peace or truce with their father without the consent and concurrence of the barons of France.† A

* Hoved.—R. Diceto.—Neub.—Script Rer. Franc.

† Gervase.

great seal like that of England was manufactured, in order that young Henry might affix it to his treaties and charters. By the feast of Easter the plans of the rebellious boy and his confederates were matured. The scheme was bold and extensive; the confederates were numerous, including, besides the King of France, whose reward was not committed to a written treaty, William, King of Scotland, who was to receive all that his predecessors had possessed in Northumberland and Cumberland, in payment of his services, and Philip, Earl of Flanders, who was to have a grant of the earldom of Kent, with the castles of Dover and Rochester, for his share in the parricidal war.

Like the great Conqueror under similar circumstances, Henry saw himself deserted even by his favourite courtiers, and by many of the men whom he had taught the art of war, and invested with the honours of chivalry with his own hands. According to a contemporary, it was a painful and desolating sight for him to see those whom he had honoured with his confidence and intrusted with the care of his chamber, his person, his very life, deserting him, one by one, to join his enemies; for nearly every night some of them stole away, and those who had attended him in the evening did not appear at his call in the morning.* But Henry's strength of character and consummate abilities were quite equal to the difficulties of his situation, and in the midst of his greatest trouble he maintained a cheerful countenance and pursued his usual amusements, hunting and hawking, even more than his wont, and was more gay and affable than ever towards the companions that remained with him.† His courtiers and knights might flee, but Henry had a strong party, and wise ministers and commanders, selected by his sagacity, in most of his states, and in England more than all; he had also money in abundance: and these circumstances gave him confidence without relaxing his precaution and exertions. Twenty thousand Brabançons, who sold their services to the best

* Gervas Dorob. † Hoved.—Matt. Par.—Gerv. Dorob.

bidder, flocked to the standard of the richest monarch of the west of Europe. Not relying wholly on arms, he sent messengers to all the neighbouring princes who had sons, to interest them in his favour; and, as his case might be their own should encouragement and success attend filial disobedience, their sympathy was tolerably complete. In addressing the pope, he worked upon other feelings; and here his present object hurried him into expressions of submission and vassalage which contributed no doubt to form the grounds of future and dangerous pretensions. He declared that the kingdom of England belonged to the jurisdiction of the pope, and that he, as king thereof, was bound to him by all the obligations imposed by the feudal law; and he implored the pontiff to defend with his spiritual arms the *patrimony of St. Peter*. The rebellious son applied to the court of Rome as well as his father; and it may be stated generally, that if the popes meddled largely with the secular affairs of princes, it was not without their being tempted and invited so to do. The letter of the "junior king," as the young Henry was called, was a composition of singular impudence and falsehood. He attributed his quarrel with his father to the interest he took in the cause of Becket, and his desire of avenging his death:—"The villains," he said, "who murdered within the walls of the temple my foster-father, the glorious martyr of Christ, St. Thomas of Canterbury, remain safe and sound; they still strike their roots in the earth, and no act of royal vengeance has followed so atrocious and unheard-of a crime. I could not suffer this criminal neglect, and such was the first and strongest cause of the present discord; the blood of the martyr cried to me; I could not render it the vengeance and honours that were due to him, but at least I showed my reverence in visiting the tomb of the holy martyr in the view and to the astonishment of the whole kingdom. My father was wrathful against me therefore, but I fear not offending my father when the cause of Christ is concerned."*

* Script. Rer. Franc.

The youthful hypocrite made most liberal offers to the church; but the pope rejected his application, and even confirmed the sentence of excommunication pronounced by the bishops of Normandy against the king's revolted subjects. At the same time a legate was dispatched across the Alps with the laudable object of putting an end to the unnatural quarrel by exhortation and friendly mediation; but before he arrived, the sword was drawn which it was difficult to sheathe, for national antipathies and popular interests and passions were engaged that would not follow the uncertain movements of paternal indulgence on one side or filial repentance on the other. In the month of June, the war began on several points at once. Philip, Earl of Flanders, entered Normandy, and gained considerable advantages, but his brother and heir being killed at a siege, he thought he saw the hand of God in the event, and he soon left the country, most bitterly repenting having engaged in such an impious war. The King of France, with his loving son-in-law, Prince Henry of England, were not more successful than the Earl of Flanders, and were first checked and then put to rapid flight by a division of the Brabançons. Prince Geoffrey, who had been joined by the Earl of Chester, was equally unfortunate in Brittany, and the cause of the confederates was covered with defeat and shame. King Louis, according to his old custom, soon grew weary of the war, and desired an interview with Henry, who condescended to grant it. This conference of peace was held on an open plain, between Gisors and Trie, under a venerable elm of "most grateful aspect," the branches of which descended to the earth,* the centre of the primitive scene where the French kings and the Norman dukes had been accustomed for some generations to hold their parleys for truce or peace.

Instead of leading to peace, the present conference embittered the war, and ended in a disgraceful exhibition of violence. The Earl of Leicester, who attended with the princes, insulted Henry to his face, and, drawing his

* Ulmus erat visu gratissima, ramis ad terram redeuntibus. Script. Rer. Franc.

sword, would have killed or wounded his king had he not been forcibly prevented. Hostilities commenced forthwith; but when Louis was a principal in a war against Henry, it was seldom prosecuted with any vigour, and the rest of that year was spent on the continent in insignificant operations. In England, however, some important events took place; for Richard de Lucy repulsed the Scots who had begun to make incursions, burnt their town of Berwick, ravaged the Lothians, and, on his return from this victorious expedition, defeated and took prisoner the great Earl of Leicester, who had recrossed the Channel and, in alliance with Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, was attempting to light the flames of civil war in the heart of England. It is honourable alike to Henry and his government and the people, that the insurgents never had a chance of success in England.

A.D. 1174.—The allies now showed more resolution than during the preceding year, and acted upon a plan which was well calculated to embarrass Henry. Louis, with the junior king of England, attacked the frontiers of Normandy. Geoffrey tried his fortune again in Brittany. Prince Richard, who began his celebrated warlike career by fighting against his own father, headed a formidable insurrection in Poictou and Aquitaine. Relying on the Norman barons for the defence of Normandy and Brittany, Henry marched against his son Richard, and soon took the town of Saintes and the fortress of Taillebourg, drove the insurgents from several other castles, and partially restored order to the country. Returning then towards Anjou, he devastated the frontier of Poictou, and was preparing to reduce the castles there when the Bishop of Winchester arrived with news which rendered the king's presence indispensable on the other side of the sea. The Scots, as had been preconcerted, were again pouring into the northern counties, and had already taken several towns. Roger de Mowbray had raised the standard of revolt in Yorkshire: Earl Ferrers, joined by David, Earl of Huntingdon, brother to the Scottish king, had done the same in the central counties. In the east, Hugh Bigod, with 700 knights, had taken the

castle of Norwich; and at the same time a formidable fleet, prepared by his eldest son and the Earl of Flanders, was ready on the opposite coast to attempt a descent on England, where endeavours were again making to alienate the affections of the people by the old story of the king being guilty of Becket's murder. The bishop had scarcely finished his dismal news ere the king, with his court, was on horseback for the coast, and, embarking in the midst of a storm, he sailed for England, taking with him, as prisoners, his own wife Eleanor, and his eldest son's wife Margaret, who had not been able to follow her husband to the court of her father. Although he had still maintained an outward appearance of tranquillity, his heart was aching at the rebellion of his children and the treachery of his friends. Sorrow disposes the mind to devotional feelings, and Henry's high powers of intellect did not exempt him from the superstition of the times. Some sincerity may possibly have mingled in the feelings and motives that dictated the extraordinary course he now pursued, though, seeing the political expediency of resorting to a striking measure to remove all doubts from the people, and bring *their* devotional feelings to his side, we would not venture to affirm that this sincerity was very great, or was the sole motive of his conduct. All attempts to depress the fame of Becket had failed,—the pope had recently inscribed his name in the list of saints and martyrs,—the miracles said to be worked over his festering body were now recognized by bishops and priests, and reported with amplifications which grew in proportion to their distance from the spot, by the credulous multitude. The English had not had a native saint for a long time, and they determined to make the most of him. It was on the 8th of July that Henry landed at Southampton. He had scarcely set foot on shore, when, without waiting to refresh himself after the fatigues and discomforts of a rough sea voyage, he mounted his horse and took the nearest road to Canterbury, performing his pilgrimage in a manner far from being so agreeable as those jocund expeditions described by Chaucer a century and a half later. He took no refreshment

save bread and water, and rode on his way by night. As the day dawned he came in sight of the towers of Canterbury Cathedral, still at the distance of some miles, and instantly dismounting from his horse, he threw off his royal dress, undid his sandals, and walked the rest of his way barefoot like the veriest penitent. The roads were rough, and as the king passed through the gateway of Canterbury his subjects were touched and edified by the sight of his blood, which fell at every step he took from his wounded feet. When he arrived at the cathedral he descended at once into the crypt, and, while the bells tolled slowly, he threw himself with sobs and tears upon the grave of Becket, and there remained with his face pressed to the cold earth in the presence of many people, an attitude more affecting and convincing perhaps than the discourse of the bishop over-head. Gilbert Foliot, formerly Bishop of Hereford, now of London, and the same who, three years and a-half before, had proposed to throw the body of Becket into a ditch or hang it on a gibbet, but who now, with the rest, acknowledged him to be a blessed and glorious martyr, ascended the pulpit and addressed the multitude. "Be it known to you, as many as are here present, that Henry, King of England, invoking, for his soul's salvation, God and the holy martyrs, solemnly protests before you all that he never ordered, or knowingly caused, or even desired the death of the saint; but, as possibly the murderers took advantage of some words imprudently pronounced, he has come to do penance before the bishops here assembled, and has consented to submit his naked flesh to the rods of discipline." The bishop conjured the people to believe the assertions of their king; and, as he ceased speaking, Henry arose like a spectre, and walked through the church and cloisters to the chapter-house, where, again prostrating himself, and throwing off the upper part of his dress, he confessed to the minor offence, and was scourged by all the ecclesiastics present, who amounted to eighty persons. The bishops and abbots, who were few, handled the knotted cords first, and then followed the monks, every one inflicting from three

to five lashes, and saying, as he gave them, "Even as Christ was scourged for the sins of men, so be thou scourged for thine own sin." The blows no doubt were dealt with a light hand, but the whole thing was startling, and such as had never before been heard of. Nor was the penance of the king yet over. He returned to the subterranean vault, and again prostrating himself by Becket's tomb, he spent the rest of the day and the following night in prayers and tears, taking no nourishment, and never quitting the spot; "but as he came so he remained, without carpet or any such thing beneath him."* At early dawn, after the service of matins, he ascended from the vault and made the tour of the upper church, praying before all the altars and relics there. When the sun rose he heard mass, and then, having drunk some holy water blessed by the martyr himself, and having filled a small bottle with the precious fluid, he mounted his horse and rode to London with a light and joyous heart. A burning fever, however, followed all this fatigue and penance, and confined him for several days to his chamber.† On the fifth night of his malady a messenger arrived from the north, and announced himself to the suffering monarch as the servant of Ranulf de Glanville, a name memorable in the history of our laws and constitution, and a most dear friend of Henry:—"Is Glanville in health?" said the king. "My lord is well," replied the servant, "and your enemy the King of Scots is his prisoner." Starting upright, Henry cried, "Repeat those words." The man repeated them, and delivered his master's letters, which fully informed the overjoyed king of the fact. On the morning of the 12th

* Gerv. Dorob.

† Gervase.—Hen. Hunt.—Girald.—Diceto.—Hoved.—Neub.—Previous to this pilgrimage to Canterbury, Henry had done penance for Becket's murder in the cathedral of Avranches in Normandy. The church is now a ruin, but according to tradition, a flat stone, with a cup engraved upon it, still marks the spot of kingly humiliation. Stothard's Tour in Normandy.

of July Glanville had surprised William the Lion as he was tilting in a meadow near Alnwick Castle with only sixty Scottish lords near him, and had made the whole party captives. By a remarkable coincidence this signal advantage was gained on the very day (it was said by some on the very hour) on which Henry achieved his reconciliation with the martyr at Canterbury.*

Indisposition, and the languor it leaves, soon departed, and Henry was again on horseback and at the head of a numerous and enthusiastic army, for the people of England flocked to his standard and filled the land with an indignant cry against the leaders and abettors of an unnatural revolt. The insurgents did not wait the coming of the king, but dispersed in all directions, their chiefs purchasing their pardon by the surrender of their castles. According to a French chronicler, so many were taken that it was difficult to find prisons for them all.† The Scots, disheartened by the capture of their sovereign, retreated beyond the border, and peace being restored at home, the active Henry was enabled, within three weeks, to carry the army which had been raised to subdue the revolt in England, across the seas to Normandy.

When the Earl of Flanders, who was now the soul of the confederacy, had made ready to invade England, he counted on the absence of the king, whose prompt return disconcerted that measure. Changing his plan, therefore, he repaired to Normandy, and joining his forces with those of King Louis and Henry's eldest son, laid siege to Rouen, the capital. But he was scarcely there when the King of England was after him, and surprised all his stores and provisions. In a few days the allied army was not only obliged to raise the siege, but also to retreat out of Normandy. Humbled by the rapidity, the genius, and good fortune of the English monarch, the confederates, following the advice of Louis, the very king of conferences, requested an armistice and a meeting for the arrangement of a general peace. Of his rebellious

* Neub.—Hoved.—Gervase.
† Script. Rer. Franc.

children, Henry and Geoffrey offered to submit to these arrangements, but young Richard, who had begun to taste the joys of war, and the "raptures of the fight," which were to be his greatest pleasures till the hour of his death, and who was supported by the restless nobility of Aquitaine, and was led by the councils of the indefatigable lord who held Hautefort,* the famous Bertrand de Born, refused to be included, and persisted in open war against his father. But the rash boy lost castle after castle, and at the end of six weeks was fain to throw himself at the feet of his forgiving parent, and accompany him to the congress or conference.

The conditions of the peace were made easy by the mildness and moderation of Henry. He received from the French king and the Flemish earl all the territories they had overrun since the commencement of the war, and he restored to those princes whatever he had conquered or occupied himself. With *one* important exception, he also set at liberty all his prisoners, to the number of 969 knights. To his eldest son he assigned for present enjoyment two castles in Normandy, and a yearly allowance of 15,000*l.* Angevin money; to Richard, two castles in Poictou, with half the revenue of that earldom; to Geoffrey, two castles in Brittany with half the rents of the estates that had belonged to his father-in-law elect (for the marriage was not yet consummated), Earl Conan, with a promise of the remainder. With these conditions the impatient youths professed themselves satisfied, and they engaged henceforth to love, honour, and obey their father. Richard and Geoffrey did homage and took the oaths of fealty; but Henry, the eldest son, was exempted from these ceremonies. The exception made in liberating the prisoners was in the important person of the Scottish king, who had been carried over to the continent and thrown into the strong castle of Falaise, where he was kept until the following month of December, when he obtained his enlargement by kneel-

* "Colui che già tenne Altaforte."
Dante's Inferno.

ing to Henry and acknowledging himself, in the set forms of vassalage, his "liege-man against all men." By the degrading treaty of Falaise, the independence of Scotland was nominally sacrificed; and from the signing of it in December, 1174, to the accession of Richard I., in December, 1189, when a formal release from all obligations was granted for the sum of 10,000 marks, she may be said to have figured as a dependent province of England.*

A.D. 1175.—Henry now enjoyed about eight years of profound peace; but, as active in civil affairs as in those of war, he devoted this time, and all his energies and resources of mind, to the reform of the internal administration of his dominions. His reputation for wisdom, judicial ability, and power, now stood so high in Europe that Alfonso, King of Castile, and his uncle Sancho, King of Navarre, who had been disputing for some years about the boundaries of their respective territories, turning from the uncertain arbitrement of the sword, referred their difference to the decision of the "just and impartial" English monarch, binding themselves in the most solemn manner to submit to his award, be it what it might. And in the month of March, 1177, Henry, holding his court at Westminster, attended by the bishops, earls, barons, and justices, both of England and Normandy, heard and discussed the arguments proposed on the part of King Alfonso by the Bishop of Palencia, and on the part of King Sancho by the Bishop of Pampeluna, and, after taking the opinion of the best and most learned of the court, pronounced a wise and conciliating award, with which both ambassadors expressed their entire satisfaction.†

We have some curious evidence of Henry's personal activity, as evinced by his rapid change of residence, just at this period of peace and tranquillity, in a letter addressed to him, in the most familiar terms, by his confi-

* Allen's Vindication of the Ancient Independence of Scotland.

† Rymer.—Rog. Hoved.

dential friend Peter of Blois. Peter, who was not a timid, loitering wayfarer, or a luxurious ease-loving churchman, but a bold and experienced traveller himself, seeing that, in the discharge of his duty, he had fought his way more than once across the then pathless Alps, in the heart of winter, braving the snow hurricane and the tremendous avalanches, seems to have been lost in amazement at the incessant and untiring progresses of the king. He had just returned from a royal mission to King Louis, the results of which he was anxious to report. He tells Henry, that he has been hunting after him up and down England, but in vain!—that when Solomon set down four things as being too hard for him to discover, he ought to have added a fifth,—and that was, the path of the King of England! Poor Peter goes on to say, that he really knoweth not whither he is going—that he has been laid up with the dysentery at Newport, from fatigue in travelling after his majesty, and has sent scouts and messengers on all sides to look for him. He proceeds to express an earnest wish that Henry would let him know where he is to be found, as he really has important affairs to treat of, and the ambassadors of the Kings of Spain have arrived with a great retinue, in order to refer the old quarrel of their masters to his majesty.

The moment was now approaching, when those energies, as yet undiminished by age or the premature decay which they probably caused in the end, were again to be called into full exercise; for foreign jealousies and intrigues, the name and history of his captive wife Eleanor, and the unpopularity of the Anglo-Norman rule in the provinces of the south, contributed, with their own impatience, turbulence, and presumption, to drive his children once more into rebellion.

A.D. 1183.—Richard, who was the darling of his imprisoned mother, and who, on account of the more general unpopularity of his father in Aquitaine and Poictou, was stronger than his brothers, was the first to renew the family war. When called upon by his father to do homage to his elder brother Henry, for

the duchy of Aquitaine, which he was to inherit, he arrogantly refused. Upon this young Henry, or the junior king, allied himself with Prince Geoffrey, and marched with an army of Bretons and Brabançons into Aquitaine, where Richard had published his ban of war. The king flew to put an end to these disgraceful hostilities, and having induced his two sons to come into his presence, he reconciled them with one another. But the reconciliation was rather apparent than real, and Prince Geoffrey had the horrible frankness to declare, shortly after, that they could never possibly live in peace with one another, unless they were united in a common war against their own father. The recorded gallantries, and the worse whispered offences of Eleanor, did not alienate the affections of the people of Poictou and Aquitaine, among whom she had been born and brought up. In their eyes she was still their chieftainess,—the princess of their old native stock; and Henry had no right over them except what he could claim *through* her, and by his affectionate treatment *of* her. Now, he had kept her for years a prisoner, and in their estimation it was loyal and right to work for her deliverance, and punish her cruel husband by whatever means they could command, even to the arming of Eleanor's sons against their sire. In the fervid heads and hearts of these men of the south these feelings became absolute passions; and the graces as well as the ardour of their popular poetry were engaged in the service of their captive princess. The Troubadours, with Bertrand de Born at their head, never tired of this theme; and even the local chroniclers raised their monkish Latin into a sort of poetical prose whenever they touched on the woes and wrongs of Eleanor,—for in Poictou and Aquitaine the manifold provocations she had given her husband were all unknown or forgotten.

With the exception of Richard, whose fiery nature now and then, for transitory intervals, gave access to the tenderer feelings, the ambitious young men seem to have cared little about their mother; but they could raise no such good excuse for being in arms against one parent as that of their anxiety to procure better treatment for the

other; and Henry, and Geoffrey, and Richard, at times in unison, and at times separately, continued to take the name of Eleanor as their *cri de guerre* in the south. These family wars were more frequent, of longer duration, and of far greater importance than would be imagined from the accounts given of them in our popular English histories.

The reconciliation which took place in 1183-4, was speedily interrupted, for Bertrand de Born, nearly indifferent as to which prince he acted with, but who, of the three, rather preferred Henry, on seeing that Richard was inclined to keep his oaths to his father, renewed his intrigues with the eldest son, and got ready a formidable party in Aquitaine, who pressed Prince Henry to throw himself among them. Henry consequently revolted again, and his brother Geoffrey soon followed his example. The French sovereign openly announced himself as the ally of the junior king and the nobles of Aquitaine. As Richard continued steady for a while, the King of England joined his forces with his, and they marched together to lay siege to Limoges, which had opened its gates to Henry and Geoffrey. In little more than a month, however, the younger Henry deserted his partisans of Aquitaine, and submitted to his father, who forgave him as he had forgiven him before, and once more accepted his oath of fealty. Geoffrey did not on this occasion follow his eldest brother's example; and the men of Aquitaine and Poictou, now regarding *him* as their chief, confirmed him in his resistance, apprehending that the King of England would not extend the remarkable clemency he had shown to his children to men who were strangers to his blood, and who had incensed him by repeated revolt. Prince Henry kept up a private correspondence with Bertrand de Born and others of the insurgents, and this enabled him to arrange a meeting for the purpose of conciliation. The King of England rode to Limoges, which was still in the hands of the insurgents, to keep his appointment with his son Geoffrey and the Aquitaine barons: to his surprise he found the gates of the town closed against him, although he had taken only

a few knights with him, and when he applied for admittance he was answered by a flight of arrows and quarries from the ramparts, one of which pierced his cuirass, while another of them wounded a knight at his side. This treacherous-looking occurrence was explained away as being a mere mistake on the part of the soldiery, and it was subsequently agreed that the king should have free entrance into the town. He met his son Geoffrey in the midst of the market-place of Limoges, and began the conference for peace; but here again he was saluted by a flight of arrows. One of these arrows wounded the horse he rode. He ordered an attendant to pick up the arrow, and presenting it to Geoffrey with sobs and tears, he said,—"Oh, son! what hath thy unhappy father done to deserve that thou shouldest make him a mark for thine arrows?"*

This foul attempt at assassination is laid by some writers to the charge of Geoffrey himself; but it is quite as probable, and much less revolting to believe, that the bows were drawn without any order from the prince, by some of the fiery spirits of Aquitaine labouring under the conviction that their cause and interests were about to be sacrificed in the accommodation between father and son. Prince Henry, who accompanied his father, expressed horror at the attempt, and disgust at the obstinacy of the men of Aquitaine; and he declared he would never more have alliance, or peace, or truce with them.† Not many days after he once more deserted and betrayed his sire, and went to join the insurgents, who then held their head-quarters at Dorat, in Poictou. The bishops of Normandy, by command of the pope, fulminated their excommunications; but as Prince Henry had been excommunicated before this, it was probably not the thunders of the church, but other considerations, that induced him to abandon the insurgents at Dorat as suddenly as he had abandoned his father, and to return once more to the feet of the king, who, with unexampled clemency or weakness, once more pardoned him, and not only per-

* Script. Rer. Franc. † Hoved.

mitted him to go at large, but to meddle again with political affairs. Having persuaded his father to adopt measures which cost him the lives of some of his most faithful followers, this manifold traitor, or veriest wheel-about that ever lived, again deserted his banner, and prepared, with his brother Geoffrey and the insurgent barons of the south, to give him battle. A short time after this revolt, which was destined to be his last, and before his preparations for aiming at his father's life or throne, or both, were completed, a messenger announced to the king that his eldest son had fallen dangerously sick at Château-Marcel, near Limoges, and desired most earnestly that his father would forgive him and visit him. The king would have gone forthwith, but his friends implored him not to hazard his life again among men who had proved themselves capable of so much treachery and cruelty; and they represented that the accounts he had received might be all a feigned story, got up by the insurgents of Aquitaine and Poictou, for the worst of purposes. Taking, then, a ring from his finger, he gave it to the Archbishop of Bordeaux, and begged that prelate to convey it with all speed to his repentant son as a token of his forgiveness and paternal affection. He cherished the hope that the youth and robust constitution of the invalid would triumph over the disease; but soon there came a second messenger, to announce that his son was no more.

Prince Henry died at Château-Marcel, on the 11th of June, 1183, in the twenty-seventh year of his age.* In his last agony he expressed the deepest contrition; he pressed to his lips his father's ring, which had mercifully been delivered to him; he publicly confessed his undutifulness to his indulgent parent and his other sins, and ordered the priests to drag him by a rope out of his bed, and lay him on a bed of ashes, that he might die in an extremity of penance.†

The heart of the king was divided between grief at

* Rog. Hoved.

† Rog. Hoved.; also Diceto.

the death of his first-born and rage against the insurgents, whom he held to have been not only the cause of his son's decease, but the impediment which had prevented him from seeing and embracing him in his last moments. The feeling of revenge, however, allying itself with the sense of his immediate interests, soon obtained entire mastery, and he proceeded with all his old vigour and activity against the barons of Aquitaine and Poictou. The very day after his son's funeral he took Limoges by assault; then castle after castle was stormed and utterly destroyed; and at last Bertrand de Born, the soul of the conspiracy, the seducer of his children, fell into his hands. Never had enemy been more persevering, insidious, and dangerous—never had vassal so outraged his liege lord, or in such a variety of ways; for Bertrand, like Luke de Barré, was a poet as well as knight, and had cruelly satirized Henry in productions which were popular wherever the *langue d'Oc** was understood. All men said he must surely die, and Henry said so himself. The troubadour was brought into his presence, to hear his sentence: the king taunted him with a boast he had been accustomed to make, namely, that he had so much wit in reserve as never to have occasion to use one-half of it, and told him he was now in a plight in which the whole of his wit would not serve him. The troubadour acknowledged he had made the boast, and that not without truth and reason; "And I," said the king,—"I think thou hast lost thy wits." "Yes, sire," replied Bertrand, mournfully; "I lost them that day the valiant young king died!—then, indeed, I lost my wits, my senses, and all wisdom." At this allusion to his son the king burst into tears, and nearly swooned. When he came to himself his vengeance had departed from him. "Sir Bertrand," said he, "Sir Bertrand, thou mightest well lose thy wits because of my son, for he loved thee

* The dialect spoken in the south of France, where, instead of *oui* (yes) they said *oc:* hence the name of the part of this district, still called Languedoc. The rest of France was called *Langue-d'oui*, or *Langue-d'oyl*.

more than any other man upon earth; and I, for love of him, give thee thy life, thy property, thy castle."* The details of this singular scene may have been slightly overcoloured by the warm poetical imagination of the south, but that Henry pardoned his inveterate enemy is an historical fact.

If Bertrand de Born was a villain, he was a most accomplished one: he appears to have excelled all his contemporaries in insinuation, elegance, and address, in versatility of talent, and abundance of resource.† Attempts have been made by M. Thierry to set off his patriotism against his treachery; and it has been hinted, that while labouring to free his native country from the yoke of the English king, he was justifiable in making use of whatever means he could. It is perhaps difficult to fix precise limits to what may be done in such a cause; but though we may affect to admire the conduct of the elder Brutus, who slew his own son for the liberties of Rome, we doubt whether the sympathies of our nature will not always be against the man who armed the sons of another against their father's life. Such appears to have been the sentiment of the time; and Dante, who wrote about 120 years after the event, and who merely took up the popular legend, placed Bertrand de Born in one of the worst circles of hell.‡

Prince Geoffrey sought his father's pardon soon after the death of his brother Henry, and abandoned the insurgents of Aquitaine, who then saw themselves opposed to a united family (for Richard was as yet true to his

* Poésies des Troubadours, Collection de Raynouard.—Millot, Hist. Littéraire des Troubadours.

† We learn from Dante, who seems to have been forcibly impressed with his strange character, that besides poems on other subjects, Sir Bertrand "treated of war, which no *Italian* poet had yet done." (Arma vero nullum Italum adhuc poetasse invenio.)—De Vulg. Eloq. Bertrand left a son of the same name, who was also a poet, and who satirized King John.

‡ Inferno, Canto xxviii. The passage is terrific, and one of the most characteristic in the whole poem.

last oaths) whose unnatural divisions had hitherto proved their main strength and encouragement. The confederacy, no longer formidable, was partly broken up by the victorious arms of the king, and partly dissolved of itself. A momentary reconciliation took place between Henry and Eleanor, who was released for a short time to be present at a solemn meeting, wherein "peace and final concord" was established between the king and his sons, confirmed by "writing and by sacrament."* In this transaction Prince John was included, who had hitherto been too young to wield the sword against his father. The family concord lasted only a few months, when Geoffrey demanded the earldom of Anjou; and on receiving his father's refusal, withdrew to the French court, to prepare for another war. But soon after (in August, 1186) his turbulent career was cut short at a tournament, where he was dismounted and trampled to death under the feet of the horses. Louis VII., the soft and incompetent rival of Henry, had now been dead several years, and his son Philip II., a young and active prince, sat on the throne of France. He buried Geoffrey with great pomp, and then invited to his court his brother Richard, the Lion-hearted, who was to hate him with a deadly hatred in after years, but who now accepted his invitation, and lived with him on the most affectionate terms, "eating at the same table and out of the same dish by day, and sleeping in the same bed by night."† King Henry well knew that this friendship betokened mischief to him, and he sent repeated messages to recall Richard, who always replied that he was coming, without hastening his departure. At last he moved, but it was only to surprise and seize a treasure of his father's, deposited at Chinon, and then to raise the banner of revolt once more in Aquitaine. But this time his standard failed to attract a dispirited people, and he was fain to accept his father's pardon. Henry, who had seen so

* Scripto et sacramento.—Rog. Hoved.

† Singulis diebus in una mensa ad unum catinum manducabant, et in noctibus non separabat eos lectus.—Rog. Hoved.

many oaths disregarded, made him swear fealty, upon this occasion, on a copy of the Holy Evangelists, in the presence of a great assembly of churchmen and laymen.

A.D. 1188. The misfortunes of the Christians in the Holy Land were the means of producing a brief peace between Henry and Philip, who had been waging an insignificant war with each other, and preparing for more decisive hostilities. Jerusalem had fallen again before the Mahomedan crescent, in the September of the preceding year; the reigning pontiff was said to have died of grief at the news; and the new pope called upon all Christian princes to rescue the tomb of Christ and the wood of the true cross, which latter, it was said, had been carried away by the victorious Saladin. No one responded to the appeal more promptly and enthusiastically than Henry, who at once declared himself willing to proceed with an army to Asia. A well-settled peace with France was, however, an indispensable preliminary; and Philip being also pressed by the pope to take the cross, an interview for the settlement of all differences was easily arranged. The two kings met in the month of January, at the usual place between Trie and Gisors, near to the old elm-tree. William, the eloquent and enthusiastic archbishop of Tyre, attended the meeting, with many bishops and priests, of whom some had witnessed the reverses and dangers of the Christians in Palestine. Henry and Philip swore to be "brothers in arms for the cause of God;" and in sign of their voluntary engagement, each took the cross from the hands of the archbishop of Tyre, and attached it to his dress, swearing never to quit it or neglect the duties of a soldier of Christ, "either upon land or sea, in town or in the field," until his victorious return to his home. Many of the great vassals of both monarchs followed their master's example, and took the same oaths.*

The crosses given to the king of France and his people were red; those distributed to the king of England and

* Rog. Hoved.—Script. Rer. Franc.

his people were white. Richard, who was to connect his name inseparably with the subject of the Crusades, had neither waited for his father's example nor permission, but had taken the cross some time before.* The old elm-tree witnessed another *solemn* peace, which was about as lasting as its predecessors; and Henry returned to England, evidently with a sincere desire of keeping it on his part, and making ready for the Holy War. In the month of February he called together a great council of the kingdom at Gidington, in Northamptonshire, to provide ways and means. The barons, both lay and ecclesiastic, readily enacted that a tenth of all rents for one year, and a tenth of all the moveable property in the land, with the exception of the books of the clergy, and the arms and horses of the knights, should be levied to meet the expenses. The lords of manors who engaged to accompany the king in person were permitted to receive the assessments of their own vassals and tenants; but those of all others were to be paid into the royal exchequer. It appears that no more than 70,000*l.* was raised in this manner. To make up the deficiency, Henry had recourse to extortion and violent measures against the Jews, whom he had hitherto treated with laudable consideration and leniency; and from that oppressed fragment of an unhappy people he procured 60,000*l.*, or almost as much money as he got from all the rest of his kingdom put together. Another council of bishops, abbots, and lay barons, held at Mans, regulated the tax for Henry's continental dominions; but we are not informed what amount was actually raised in them.

But the money wrung from Jew and Gentile was never

* Nor was this the first time the king talked of going to the Holy Land. Several years before, the Patriarch of Jerusalem offered him that kingdom, with the keys of the city and of the holy sepulchre. Henry, who was not then carried away by the popular enthusiasm, referred the matter to assembly of his bishops and barons, who, *most wisely*, determined that "for the good of his own soul," he would much better by remaining at home and taking care of own subjects.

spent against the Turk. "The malice of the ancient enemy of mankind," says the honest chronicler, "was not asleep;"* and he goes on to deplore how that infernal malice turned the oaths of Christian princes into a mockery, and relit the flames of war among Christian people on the continent of Europe. The fiery Richard appears to have been the first cause of this new commotion, in which the French king soon took a part. Another conference was agreed upon, and the two kings again met under the peaceful shadow of the elm; they could not, however, agree as to terms of accommodation; and Philip, venting his spite on the tree, swore by all the saints of France that no more parleys should be held there, and cut it down.† Had causes of dissension been wanting, the ingenuity of the king of France, and the jealous impatience of Richard, would have raised imaginary wrongs; but unfortunately for the fame of Henry, there *was* a real existing cause, and one singularly calculated to excite and unite those two princes against him. Richard, when a child, had been affianced, as already mentioned, to the infant Aliz, or Adelais, of France. Henry had obtained possession of the person of the royal infant, and of part of her dowry, and had kept both. By the time the parties were of proper age for the completion of the marriage, Richard was at open war with his father; but it is curious to remark, that at none of the numerous peaces and reconciliations was there any deep anxiety shown either by her affianced spouse Richard, or her father King Louis, or her brother Philip, about the fate of the fair Adelais, who remained some time *ostensibly* as a hostage, but, of late years, in a very ambiguous situation, at the court of Henry. A report, true or false, had got abroad that the king was enamoured of her person; and when he made an unsuccessful application to the c ch of Rome for a divorce from Richard's mother, l nor, it was believed that he had taken the step in o r to espouse Richard's affianced bride. Of late, how- e , King Philip, feeling that the reputation of his sister

* Roger Hoved. † Id.—Script. Rer. Franc.

was committed, had repeatedly urged that Adelais should be given to Richard, and the marriage completed; and the church of Rome had even threatened Henry with its severest censures in case of his resisting this demand. An air of mystery involves the whole story and every part of it: how Henry evaded the demand we know not, but of this we are perfectly well informed, that he had detained the lady,—that no consequences had ensued therefrom on the part of the pope,—and that Philip had even made peace more than once, and had vowed eternal friendship to him while he was thus detaining her. If Richard credited the worst part of the current reports (as he afterwards averred he did), he was not likely to feel anything but the strongest aversion to the marriage. Affection for his affianced bride was, however, a very colourable pretext; and as he was now haunted by a more real and serious uneasiness,—namely, by the belief that his father destined the English crown for his youngest son John,—he set this plea forward in justification of his rebellion, and co-operated heart and hand with the French king. In the month of November in this same year (A.D. 1188) another conference was held, not, however, between Trie and Gisors, but near to Bonsmoulins in Normandy. Philip proposed that Adelais should be given up to Richard, and that Henry should declare that prince heir, not only to his kingdom of England, but also to all his continental dominions, and cause his vassals immediately to swear fealty to Richard. Henry, who could not forget the miseries he had suffered in consequence of elevating his eldest son in this manner, resolutely refused the latter proposition. A violent altercation ensued, and ended in a manner which sufficiently proved that Richard was thinking little of the first proposition or of his bride. Turning from his father, he furiously exclaimed, "This forces me to believe that wh
I before deemed impossible," (that is, the report conce
ing his younger brother John). He then ungirded
sword, and kneeling at the feet of King Philip, and plac
his hands between his, said, "To you, sire, I com
the protection of myself and my hereditary rights, and

you I do homage for all my father's dominions on this side the sea." Philip ostentatiously accepted his homage, and made him a present grant of some towns and castles he had captured from his father. Henry, violently agitated, rushed from the scene, and, mounting his horse, rode away to Saumur, to prepare for the further prosecution of the interminable war.* But his iron frame now felt the inroads of disease and grief; his activity and decision *at last* forsook him, and, relying on exertions making in his favour by the Pope's legate, he remained supine while Philip and Richard took several of his towns and seduced many of his knights. Even at this extremity the good people of Normandy were faithful to him, and, wishing to secure that duchy for his favourite son, of whose love and faith he had never doubted, he was careful to procure an oath from the seneschal of Normandy that he would deliver the fortresses of that province to John in case of his death. The Church was on this occasion zealously engaged on the side of Henry. Though elated by unusual success, Philip was obliged to consent to another conference. The meeting took place in the month of June in the following year (A.D. 1189), at La Ferté-Bernard; and Richard, John of Anagni, cardinal and legate, the archbishops of Canterbury, Rouen, Rheims, and Bourges, were present. Philip proposed the same conditions as at the conference of Bonsmoulins seven months before; Henry, who had been hurt in every feeling by Richard in the interval, rejected them, and proposed that Adelais should be united to his dutiful son John,—an overture that tends to shake the credibility of the existing scandal even more than does the circumstance of Henry's advanced age. Should Philip agree to this arrangement, he declared his readiness to name Prince John heir to his continental dominions,—a distribution which he seems to have long contemplated. But Philip would not enter into the new plan, or abandon Richard, who was present, and who joined the French king in violent abuse of his

* Hoved.—Diceto.—Script. Rer. Franc.

father. John of Anagni, the cardinal-legate, then threatened to put the kingdom of France under an interdict; but these menaces depended much for their effect on circumstances and the character of the princes to whom they were addressed. Philip had boldness enough to despise them: he even accused the legate of partial and venal motives; telling him it was easy to perceive he had already scented the pounds sterling of the English king.* Richard, who was never exemplary for command of temper, went still further: he drew his sword against the Cardinal, and would have cut him down but for the timely interposition of some more moderate members of the party.

Henry again rode away from the conference, and this time with a desponding heart. The people of Aquitaine, Poictou, and Brittany were induced to rise in mass against their now falling master; and under the command of Richard they fell upon him on the west and south, while the French king attacked him in Anjou, on the north. He had on former occasions made head against almost equally formidable confederacies, but the strength of frame, the eagle-glance, and the buoyancy of spirits which had then carried him through a victor, were now crippled and dimmed by sickness and sorrow. His barons continued their open desertions or secret treachery, and at last he was induced to solicit peace, with the offer of resigning himself to whatever terms Philip and Richard should propose.† The two monarchs met on a plain between Tours and Azay-sur-Cher: it appears that Richard did not attend to witness the humiliation of his father, but expected the issue of the negotiations at a short distance. While the kings were conversing together in the open field and on horseback, a loud peal of thunder was heard, though the sky appeared cloudless, and the lightning fell between them, but without hurt them. They separated in great alarm, but after a b

* Jam *sterlingos* regis Angliæ olfecerat. Rog. Hoved Matt. Par.

† Roger. Hoved.—Script. Rer. Franc.

space met again. Then a second peal of thunder more awful than the first rolled over their heads. The state of Henry's health rendered him more nervous than his young and then triumphant rival: he dropped the reins, and reeling in his saddle, would have fallen from his horse had not his attendants supported him.* He recovered his self-possession, but he was too ill to renew the conference; and the humiliating conditions of peace, reduced to writing, were sent to his quarters for his signature. It was stipulated that Henry should pay an indemnity of twenty thousand marks to Philip, renounce all his rights of sovereignty over the town of Berry, and submit in all things to his decisions;† that he should permit all his vassals, both English and continental, to do homage to Richard; that all such barons as had espoused Richard's party should be considered the liege men and vassals of the son, unless they voluntarily chose to return to the father; that he should deliver Adelais to one out of five persons named by Richard, who, at the return of Philip and Richard from the crusade on which they proposed to depart immediately (there was no longer any talk of Henry's going), would restore her in all honour either to her brother or her affianced; and finally, that he should give the kiss of peace to Richard, and banish from his heart all sentiments of anger and animosity against him.‡ The envoys of the French king read the treaty, article by article, to Henry as he lay suffering on his bed. When they came to the article which regarded the vassals who had deserted him to join Richard, he asked for a list of their names. The list was given him, and the very first name upon it which struck his eye was that of his darling son John, of whose base

* Rog. Hoved.

† "Ex toto se posuit in voluntate regis Franciæ," says ger of Hoveden. Except in one clause the name of gland seems hardly to have been mentioned; and this *mission* was evidently limited to the continental dominions, er which (at least in theory) the authority of the French own was always extensive.

‡ Rog. Hoved.—Script. Rer. Franc.

treachery he had hitherto been kept happily ignorant. The broken-hearted king started up from his bed and gazed wildly around. "Is it true," he cried, "that John, the child of my heart,—he whom I have cherished more than all the rest, and for love of whom I have drawn down on mine own head all these troubles, hath verily betrayed me?" They told him it was even so. "Now, then," he exclaimed, falling back on his bed, and turning his face to the wall, "let everything go as it will—I have no longer care for myself or for the world!"*

Shortly after he caused himself to be transported to the pleasant town of Chinon;† but those favourite scenes made no impression on his profound melancholy and hopelessness of heart, and in a few days he laid himself down to die. In his last moments, as his intellects wandered, he was heard uttering unconnected exclamations. "Oh shame!" he cried, "a conquered king! I, a conquered king! . . . Cursed be the day on which I was born, and cursed of God the children I leave behind me!" Some priests exhorted the disordered, raving man to retract these curses, but he would not. He was sensible, however, to the affection and unwearying attentions of his natural son Geoffrey, who had been faithful to him through life, and who received his last sigh. As soon as the breath was out of his body all the ministers, priests, bishops, and barons, that had waited so long, took a hurried departure, and his personal attendants followed the example of their betters, but not before they had stripped his dead body, and seized everything of any value in the apartment where he died.

The disrespect and utter abandonment which had followed the demise of the great conqueror 102 years before, were repeated towards the corpse of his great-

* Script. Rer. Franc. "Iterum se lecto reddens, et fac suam ed parietem vertens," &c.

† Chinon, beautifully situated on the river Loire, was French Windsor of our Norman kings, and Fontevraud, the distance of about seven miles (to the south), their favourite place of burial.

grandson. It was not without delay and difficulty that people were found to wrap the body in a winding-sheet, and a hearse and horses to convey it to the Abbey of Fontevraud.* While it was on its way to receive the last rites of sepulture, Richard, who had learned the news of his father's death, met the procession, and accompanied it to the church. Here, as the dead king lay stretched on the bier, his face was uncovered that his son might look upon it for the last time. Marked as it was with the awful expression of a long agony, he gazed on it in silence, and shuddered. He then knelt and prayed before the altar, but only for "a modicum of time, or about as long as it takes to say the Lord's Prayer;" and when the funeral was over, he quitted the church, and entered it not again until that hour when, cut off in the full strength and pride of manhood, he was carried thither a corpse to be laid at the feet of his father.† It was a popular superstition which the Normans as well as the Anglo-Saxons had derived from their common ancestors, the Scandinavians, that the body of the dead would bleed in presence of its murderer; and more than one chronicler of the time avers that this miracle was seen at the church of Fontevraud, where (say they), from the moment that Richard entered until that in which he departed, the king never ceased to bleed at both nostrils.‡ On the day of Henry's death (July 6th, 1189) he was in the fifty-seventh year of his age, and he had reigned over England thirty-four years, seven lunar months, and five days, counting from the day of his coronation.§ This long reign had been highly beneficial to the country: with a few brief exceptions, peace had been maintained in the interior, and there is good evidence to show that the condition of the people generally had been elevated

* Script. Rer. Franc.—Girald.—Ang. Sac.—Rog. Hoved.

† Script. Rer. Franc.

‡ Benedict. Abbas.—Script. Rer. Franc.—Rog. Hoved.—Speed, Chron.

§ R. Diceto.—Rog. Hoved.—Sir Harris Nicolas, Chronology of History.

and improved. The king's personal character has been differently represented, some dwelling only on its bright qualities, and others laying all their emphasis on his vices, which, in truth, were neither few in number nor moderate in their nature, although, for the most part, common attributes to the princes of those ages, few of whom had his redeeming virtues and splendid abilities. To say with Hume that his character, in private as well as in public life, was almost without a blemish, is a manifest defying of the testimony and authority of contemporary history; but yet, when every fair deduction is made, he will remain indisputably an illustrious prince, and a man possessed of many endearing qualities.

Besides his five legitimate sons, of whom three preceded him to the grave, Henry had three daughters by his wife Eleanor. Matilda, the eldest, was married to Henry duke of Saxony, Bavaria, Westphalia, &c.; and from her is descended the present royal family of Great Britain: Eleanor, the second daughter, was married to Alfonso the Good, king of Castile; and Joan, the youngest, was united to William II., king of Sicily, a prince of the Norman line of Guiscard. Two of his natural children have obtained the general notice of history on account of the celebrity of their mother, and of their own eminent qualities. The first, who was born while Stephen was yet on the throne of England, was William, surnamed "Longsword," who married the heiress of the Earl of Salisbury, and succeeded to the high titles and immense estates of that baron; the second was the still better known Geoffrey, who was born about the time when Henry became king, and who was made bishop of Lincoln at a very early age. He had much of Henry's spirit and ability, and, if an indifferent prelate, he was a bold and successful warrior in his *nonage*, when (during the first insurrection promoted by his father's legitimate sons) he gained in the north some signal advantages for the king, to whom he and his brother William Longsword were ever faithful and affectionate. Geoffrey was subsequently made Chancellor, when, like Becket in the same capacity, he constantly accompanied the king. I

his dying moments, Henry expressed a hope or a wish that he might be made Archbishop of York, a promotion which, as we shall find, he afterwards obtained.

The history of their mother, the 'Fair Rosamond,' has been enveloped in romantic traditions which have scarcely any foundation in truth, but which have taken so firm a hold on the popular mind, and have been identified with so much poetry, that it is neither an easy nor a pleasant task to dissipate the fanciful illusion, and unpeople the "bower" in the sylvan shades of Woodstock. Rosamond de Clifford was the daughter of a baron of Herefordshire, the beautiful site of whose antique castle, in the valley of the Wye, is pointed out to the traveller between the town of the Welsh Hay and the city of Hereford, at a point where the most romantic of rivers, after foaming through its rocky, narrow bed in Wales, sweeps freely and tranquilly through an open English valley of surpassing loveliness. Henry became enamoured of her in his youth, before he was king, and the connexion continued for many years; but long before his death, and even long before his quarrel with his wife and legitimate sons (with which, it appears, she had nothing to do), Rosamond retired, to lead a religious and penitent life, into the "little nunnery" of Godestow, in the "rich meadows of Evenlod near unto Oxford." As Henry still preserved gentle and generous feelings towards the object of his youthful and ardent passion, he made many donations to the "little nunnery," on her account; and when she died (some time, at least, before the first rebellion) the nuns, in gratitude to one who had been both directly and indirectly their benefactress, buried her in their choir, hung a silken pall over her tomb, and kept tapers constantly burning around it. These few lines, we believe, comprise all that is really known of the Fair Rosamond. The legend, so familiar to the childhood of all of us, was of later and gradual growth, not being the product of one imagination. The chronicler Brompton, who wrote in the time of Edward III., or more than a century and a half after the event, gave the first description we possess of the secret bower of Rosamond

He says, that in order that she might not be "easily taken unawares by the queen," Henry constructed, near "Wodestoke," a bower for this "most sightly maiden," of wonderful contrivance, and not unlike the Dædalean labyrinth; but he speaks only of a device against surprise, and intimates, in clear terms, that Rosamond died a natural death. The clue of silk, and the poison-bowl forced on her fair and gentle rival by the jealous and revengeful Eleanor, were additions of a still more modern date.

The adventures of the amiable frail one's unoffending bones are better authenticated. A rigid bishop caused them to be cast out of the church, and interred in the common cemetery, observing to the nuns, that the tomb of a harlot was no fit object for a choir of virgins to contemplate, and that religion made no distinction between the mistress of a king and the mistress of any other man. But gratitude rebelled against this salutary doctrine, and the virgin sisterhood of Godestow gathered up the remains, perfumed the dry bones, laid them again in their church, under a fair, large gravestone, and set up a cross hard by, with an inscription, imploring requiem or rest for Rosamond.

Richard I.—Surnamed Cœur de Lion.

A.D. 1189. As soon as his father was buried, Richard laid hands on Stephen of Tours, the seneschal of Anjou and treasurer to Henry II. This unfortunate officer was loaded with chains, and thrown into a dungeon, from which he was not released until he delivered up, not only the funds of the late king, but his own money also, to the last penny he possessed.* Letters were sent over to England for the immediate enlargement of the queen dowager; and, on quitting her prison, Eleanor was invested for a short time with the office of regent, and especially charged to have an eye on the moneys in England. Her misfortunes seem for awhile to have had a beneficial effect on her imperious character; for, during her brief authority, she relieved the people by many works of mercy; releasing those who were arbitrarily detained in prison, pardoning offences against the crown, moderating the severity of the forest-laws, and reversing several attainders. She also distributed bountiful alms to the poor, that they might pray for the soul of the husband whom she, more than any one, had contrived to send with sorrow to the grave. She hastened to Winchester, where the royal treasure was deposited, and having made sure of that city, summoned thither the barons and prelates of the realm, that they might recognise and receive their new sovereign. The state of affairs, however, detained Richard on the continent for nearly two months. At last he crossed the Channel, accompanied by his brother John, and landed at Portsmouth, whence he repaired to Winchester. Henry had left in his treasury there a large sum in gold and silver, besides plate, jewels, and precious stones. All these Richard

* Hoved.

caused to be weighed and examined in his presence. His soul was occupied by an enterprise that was likely to absorb all the money he could possibly procure; and, to find means for a most lavish expenditure, he resorted to the cares and expedients that more properly characterize avarice. It was this enterprise, however, that gave him the benefit of an undisputed succession to all his father's dominions; for John, expecting to be left in full authority by the immediate departure of his brother for Palestine, and hoping that he would never return alive from the perils of the Holy War, submitted to what he considered would be a very brief arrangement, and made no effort to dispute Richard's right. But for these circumstances it is very clear, from the character of the crafty and ambitious John, that the old story of a disputed succession would have been repeated. As it was, it was wiser for him to wait awhile for the chance of getting peaceful possession of the whole, than to risk life or failure for a part. The confidence reposed in him may excite some surprise, and the more, perhaps, because one of Richard's first acts as a sovereign was to discard and persecute all those who had plotted against his father, not excepting even his own most familiar friends who had plotted for his own advantage; thus reading a good lesson to those who embark their fortunes in the family quarrels of princes. On the 3rd of September the coronation festival was held at Westminster with unusual magnificence; the abbots, and bishops, and most of the lay barons attending on the occasion. The unction over, and the king being royally arrayed, he was led up to the altar, where the archbishop adjured him, in the name of Almighty God, not to assume the royal dignity unless he fully proposed to keep the oaths he had sworn. Richard repeated his solemn promises, and with his own hands taking the ponderous crown from off the altar, "in signification he held it only from God," he delivered it to the ar bishop, who instantly put it on his head, and so compl all the ceremonies of coronation.* "Which act,"

* Hoveden and Diceto, who were both present. At

old Speed, with a cold-bloodedness less excusable than his superstition, "was accidentally hanselled and auspicated by the blood of many Jews (though utterly against the king's will), who, in a tumult raised by the multitude, were furiously murdered, which, though it was afterwards punished by the laws, might seem a presage, that this lion-hearted king should be a special destroyer of the enemies of our Saviour." The modern historian cannot permit these atrocities to pass off so easily. We have mentioned the Jews under the preceding reign, and our cursory allusion to them has shown that they were already in possession of great wealth in England, where they were persecuted by the government, though most useful, and indeed essential to it, and hated by the whole nation, though nearly all the comforts, and, without exception, all the ornaments and luxuries of civilized life, brought from foreign markets, were introduced by their commercial enterprise. Their wealth seems to have had as much to do in rendering them odious as the religious faith to which they heroically adhered, and the advance they had made in the rate of interest on their loans to men who were about departing on the dangerous expeditions to the Holy Land—though the necessary consequence of the great and sudden demand for money, and of the augmented risk incurred by the lenders—had recently had the effect of exasperating the minds of many of the noble but needy crusaders, and had increased that rancour against them which was always a prevalent feeling among the superstitious and ignorant populace—if the populace deserve these distinguishing epithets when ignorance and superstition were so prevalent among all classes. At the accession of Philip to the throne of France, all the Jews had been banished that kingdom, their property confiscated, the obligations of their numerous debtors annulled; and though Henry II. had declined taking this

coronation feast, which immediately followed, the citizens of London were the king's butlers, and the citizens of Winchester served up the meats.

iniquitous course, it was expected by many that Richard, on coming to the throne of England, would follow the example of his friend Philip. The Jews probably expected something of the sort: they assembled in London from all parts of the kingdom, "meaning to honour the coronation with their presence, and to present to the king some honourable gift, whereby they might declare themselves glad for his advancement, and procure his friendship towards themselves, for the confirming of their privileges and liberties, according to the grants and charters made to them by the former king."* On the day before the coronation, Richard being "of a zealous mind to Christ's religion, abhorring their nation, and doubting some sorcery by them to be practised, issued a proclamation forbidding Jews *and women* to be present at Westminster, either within the church when he should receive the crown, or within the hall whilst he was at dinner.† A few, however, persevering in a custom sanctioned by remote antiquity among all Oriental people, ventured, on this day of general grace and joy, to lay their offerings at the king's feet. Their humble suit was heard,—their rich presents were accepted, "gladly enough;" but a Christian raised an outcry, and struck a Jew that was trying to enter the gate with the rest of the crowd. The courtiers and king's servants, catching the contagion of the quarrel, then fell on the wealthy Jews who had obtained admittance, and drove them out of the hall. A report spread among the multitude gathered outside the palace that the king had commanded the destruction of the unbelievers, and therefore, following up an example already set them by their superiors, the people cruelly beat the Jews and drove them with "staves, bats, and stones, to their houses and lodgings." This violence being left unchecked, and the rumour of the king's intention still spreading, fresh crowds of fanatic rioters collec and after barbarously murdering every Jew they founc the streets, they assaulted the houses they occupied anc which they had barricaded themselves. As many of th

* Holinshed. † Id.

houses were strongly built they set fire to them, and burned men, women, and children, with everything they contained. In some cases they forced their way into the apartments, and hurled their victims, not excepting even the aged, the sick, and bed-ridden, out of the windows into fires which they had kindled below. The king, alarmed at length by the riot, sent Ranulf de Glanville, the Lord Justiciary, and other officers to appease it; but the authority of these high functionaries was despised, their own lives were threatened, and in the end they were obliged to fly back to Westminster Hall, where the banquet still continued. When night set in, the "rude sort" were lighted in their horrid work of plunder and murder by the flames that rose from the Jewish houses, and that, at one time, threatened a general conflagration of the town. The magazines and shops of the Jews were plundered and ransacked; the defenceless wretches who attempted to escape from their forced, or burning dwellings, "were received upon the points of spears, bills, swords, and gleaves of their adversaries, that watched for them very diligently." These atrocities continued from about the hour of noon on one day till two o'clock in the afternoon of the next, when the infuriated populace seem to have ceased plundering and butchering out of sheer weariness. One or two days after, Richard hanged three men, not because they had robbed and murdered the Jews, but because (at least so it was declared in the public sentence) they had burned the houses of Christians, some of which were indeed unintentionally consumed by the spreading of the flames. He then issued a proclamation, in which, after stating that he took the Jews under his own immediate protection, he commanded that no man should personally harm them or rob them of their goods and chattels; and these were the only judicial measures that followed the terrific outrage.* All that the new king could think of at this moment was how he should go to Palestine with a splendid army, and leave the care of his kingdom and of all his subjects to others.

* Hoved.—Diceto.—Newbr.—Hemingford.

To raise money he had recourse to expedients similar to those which ruined Stephen and the nation under him. He alienated the demesne lands, publicly selling, by a sort of auction, royal castles, fortresses, and towns,—and, together with estates that were his own, not a few that were the property of other men. When some friends ventured to remonstrate, he swore he would sell London itself if he could only find a purchaser for it.* Thus most of those royal lands which his father with so much prudence and address had recovered out of powerful private hands, and re-annexed to the crown, were again detached from it. In the same way places of trust and honour,—the highest offices in the kingdom,—were publicly sold to the highest bidder.

"Richard's presence chamber," says a recent writer, "was a market overt, in which all that the king could bestow,—all that could be derived from the bounty of the crown or imparted by the royal prerogative,—was disposed of to the best chapman. Hugh Pudsey, the bishop of Durham, purchased the earldom of Northumberland, together with the lordship of Sadburgh. For the chief justiciarship he paid, at the same time, the sum of 1000 marks. In the bargain was included a dispensation to the bishop—or at least such dispensation as the king could grant—from his vow or promise of joining in the crusade."†

Richard hastily filled all the vacant bishoprics and abbacies, exacting a heavy fee from each prelate and abbot he appointed. In consideration of 20,000 marks received from the Scottish king, he granted to him a release from all the obligations which had been extorted from him and from his subjects during his captivity, and gave back to him all the charters and documents of his servitude, with this proviso, that he should nevertheless duly and fully perform all the services which his br[illegible]r Malcolm had performed, or ought of right to have [illegible]

* Newb.

† Introduction to Rotuli Curiæ Regis (published [illegible]e Record Commission), by Sir Francis Palgrave.

formed, to Richard's predecessors.* For the sum of 3000 marks he granted his peace to his half-brother Geoffrey, who had been elected archbishop of York, according to the wish expressed by his father Henry on his death-bed; and other sums of money were obtained by means much less justifiable.

It was now necessary to nominate a regency. At this step Prince John saw his hopes disappointed; but he remained perfectly quiet, being anxious, no doubt, that nothing should occur to prevent or delay his formidable brother's departure. A great council was held at the monastery of Pipwell, in Northamptonshire. Here the king formally announced the appointment of Hugh Pudsey, the bishop of Durham, to be Rector Regni and Procurator Regni; but he included with him in the commission of justiciarship William de Mandeville, earl of Albemarle. This great earl, however, quitted England soon after, leaving the bishop in the full possession of the high office; but he did not retain it long, for his authority was first of all weakened and subdivided by Richard before he began his journey, and finally during the king's absence, but while he was yet in Normandy, it was wrenched from him altogether by the much abler hands of Longchamp, bishop of Ely and chancellor of England. To satisfy his brother John he gave him, besides the earldom of Moreton or Moretain, in Normandy, the earldoms of Cornwall, Dorset, Somerset, Gloucester, Nottingham, Derby, and Lancaster, in England, forming together not less than a third part of the whole kingdom. To gratify his mother, he added to the estates she already possessed all the lands that had been enjoyed by Matilda, the Saxon wife of Henry I., or by Alice, the French widow of the same monarch. She was also to be consulted in sundry matters of government; and at a subsequent period, during Richard's confinement in Germany, Eleanor exercised considerable authority with the consent of the king, though whatever power in the state his brother John acquired was usurped and against his will.

* Allen, Vindic. Anc. Ind. Scot.—Fœdera.—Benedict. Abb.

Richard had proceeded with a most arbitrary haste; but Philip of France being ready before him, and doubting he might delay, sent messengers to remind him that the time of departure for the Holy Land was unchangeably fixed at the coming festival of Easter. At the arrival of these messengers Richard, with a vast number of the earls, barons, and knights, who had taken the cross with him, swore he would be ready by the time appointed, and Philip's envoys took a like oath on behalf of themselves. The form of these oaths was somewhat unusual, the Frenchmen swearing by the soul of the king of France, the Englishmen by the soul of the king of England. By this time Richard had got all the money he could on this side of the Channel, and towards the end of the year, and a little more than three months after his coronation, he crossed over to his continental dominions, to see what money he could raise and extort there.

A.D. 1190. In the month of February following Richard held a great council in Normandy, which was attended by the Queen Dowager, by his brother John, and by various bishops, who are stated to have crossed the Channel by the king's command. At this meeting there was an abundant pledging of oaths, which were but indifferently kept in the sequel. Soon after the two kings made a compact of alliance and fraternity of arms, swearing that each would defend the life and honour of the other,—that neither would desert the other in his danger,—that the king of France would cherish and protect the rights of the king of England, even as he would protect his own city of Paris, and that the king of England would do the like by his majesty of France, even as he would protect his own city—of *Rouen*.*

Owing to the death of Philip's young queen their departure was postponed from the feast of Easter till Midsummer. At last they met in the plains of Vezelai, each accompanied by a gallant and a numerous army, for their forces, when united, are said to have amounted to one hundred thousand men. They marched in company from

* Hoved.

Vezelai to Lyons, and the people, though much distressed by the passage of such a host, confidently predicted that the Paynim could never withstand them, and that the city of the Lord, with the whole of Palestine, would be recovered by their swords and lances. At Lyons the two kings separated, with the mutual understanding that they should meet again in the port of Messina, in Sicily. Philip, with his forces, took the nearest road to Genoa, for he had no fleet of his own, and that flourishing commercial republic had agreed with him for the furnishing of transports and some ships of war. From the time of his expedition to Ireland, Henry II. had paid great attention to maritime affairs, and an English *royal* navy had gradually grown up. We do not possess much information on this interesting subject, but we learn from the chroniclers that he had some vessels which would be considered, even now, of a large size, and that one of the "chiefest and newest" of his ships was capable of carrying 400 persons. Some time before his death he began to build vessels expressly for the voyage to Palestine; and when his son succeeded, he found these preparations so far advanced, that he was soon able to launch or equip fifty galleys of three banks of oars, and many other armed galleys inferior in size to them, but superior to those generally in use at the period. He had also selected transports from the shipping of all his ports; and perhaps there is not much danger in assuming that, in size and strength of ships, this was the most formidable naval armament that had as yet appeared in modern Europe.* Having thus a fleet of his own, Richard was not dependent, like Philip, on arrangements with the maritime Italians, and, instead of crossing the Alps, he kept his course by the beautiful valley of the Rhone towards Marseilles—a free trading city, belonging neither to the English nor the French king,† where he had ordered that his ships should meet him, to convey him and his

* Southey, Nav. Hist.

† Marseilles was not even nominally under Philip, but acknowledged the suzerainty of the king of Arragon. The

son it is said he refused to visit Rome.* When his galley was repaired, he made his way to Naples, where he again landed, and whence he determined to continue his journey to the straits of Messina by land—his active body and restless mind being, no doubt, alike wearied with the close confinement of ship-board, and the slow progress made during the dead calms of summer in the Mediterranean. While at Naples, he visited the sanctuary of St. Januarius, the protector of that city, and told his orisons in a crypt, where the bodies of the dead stood up in niches, dry and shrivelled, but arrayed in their usual dresses, and otherwise looking as if they were still alive. The beauties of Naples or some other inducements made him loiter several days in that city; but he then mounted his horse, and, taking the beautiful pass of the Apennines, which leads by Nocera, the Benedictine abbey of La Cava, and Vietri, he went to Salerno, then celebrated for its School of Medicine, the foundation of which had been laid by the Arabs as early as the eighth century, and which had been carried to its height of fame (by Orientals, or by persons who had travelled and studied in the East) under the reign and by the liberal patronage of Robert Guiscard, the Norman conqueror of the south of Italy. But the city of Salerno, which the lances of the Normans had won from the Saracen invaders, and which the bold Guiscard had made for a time his capital, was redundant with Norman glory, and crowded with objects to interest Richard. The Normans had built the cathedral in the plain, and rebuilt the noble castle on the hill. Princes descended, like himself, from the first Duke Rollo, slept in sculptured tombs in the great church, and goodly epitaphs, with many a Leonine (or rhyming Latin) verse—that favourite measure of the Normans—recorded their praise. Every castle that met his eye on the flanks and crests of the neighbou g mountains was occupied by the descendant of some N - man knight; for the time, though approaching, was t

* Baronius speaks at some length, and with great emp t- , of this singular interview on the Tiber.—Annal. Ec- s.

yet come, when the dynasty of Suabia made a fresh distribution, and introduced a new race of northern lords into the most glowing regions of the south. Salerno, too, then one of the most civilized, as always one of the most beautifully situated towns of Italy, had other schools besides that of medicine; though it was held not unworthy of a king, and a fitting accomplishment in a true knight, to know something of the healing art. Moral and natural philosophy, such as they were, geometry, astronomy, dialectics, rhetoric, and poetry, were all cultivated, and Richard himself was a professed poet, being one of the troubadours.* After staying at this interesting spot several days, during which the galleys he had hired at Marseilles came round to him from Naples, he mounted his horse and left Salerno on the 13th of September. He rode across the Pæstan plain, and through the luxuriant district of Cilento, into Calabria, his galleys following along shore, from which his own path was seldom very distant. Roads there were none; and, as it was the commencement of the rainy season, he must have encountered great difficulties in crossing the mountain-streams; for he did not reach Mileto till the 21st. From that town he spurred on with only one knight to accompany him. At last he reached the shore of the narrow strait, commonly called the Faro, which separates Calabria from Sicily, and passed the night in a tent hard by the famed rocks and caverns of Scylla. The next morning (September 23), being either advised by signal, or by some one of the Marseilles galleys, the mass of his fleet crossed over from the island to receive him. He embarked, and scorning, or being ignorant of, the Homeric dangers of Scylla and Charybdis, was presently wafted over to the noble harbour of Messina, which he entered with so much splendour and majesty, and such a clangour of horns and trumpets and other warlike instruments, that he astonished

* He was born a poet—if not in the sense of Horace, at least genealogically—for his mother Eleanor, as well as his maternal grandfather, were troubadours, and the rank was made hereditary in some families. He merited it by his compositions.

and alarmed the Sicilians, and the French also, who had reached that port with a shattered fleet a week before him. The first feelings of the allies and confederates in the Holy War towards each other were not of an amicable nature; and Philip, foreseeing, it is said, that dissensions would be inevitable if the two armies passed much time together in inactivity, got ready his fleet as soon as he could, and set sail for the East. But contrary winds and storms drove him back to Messina; and it was then resolved, for the misfortune of the country, that the two kings should winter there together, and find supplies for their armies as best they could.

The kingdom of Sicily, which then comprised Calabria and Apulia, and all those parts of lower Italy now included in the Neapolitan realm, was in a distracted state. A few years before, under the reign of William I., or of his heroic father, Ruggiero, when the kingdom was united, and their powerful fleets of galleys gave the law in both seas (the Tyrrhenian and the Adriatic), the Sicilians might have been able to defend themselves against the insolent crusaders, numerous as they were; but Richard, who had a private account to settle with their king, well knew their present weakness, and determined to take advantage of it. The king of Sicily, who had scarcely been ten months on the throne, and who reigned by a disputed title, was Tancred, a prince of the Norman line, of great valour and ability. Richard's sister, Joan, who had been wedded when a mere child, had borne her husband no children; and, after nine years' marriage with her, King William II., commonly called "The Good," became uneasy about the succession, and resorted to curious measures in order to keep it in the legitimate line. The only legitimate member of the family living was an aunt about the same age as himself —a posthumous child of his grandfather, the great Ruggiero. The princess Constance had been brought up from her infancy in religious retirement, and was living in a convent—some writers say she had taken the veil and the vows of a nun long before—when her nephew, the king, fixed his eyes upon her for his successor. To

withstanding her acknowledged legitimacy, William the Good knew it would be worse than useless to propose a single woman to his warlike barons as their queen. William, therefore, looked abroad for a powerful husband that might assert her rights; or, considering the age of the parties, he might reasonably have hoped to live to see a son of his aunt's grow up before he died. He, therefore, negotiated a marriage with Henry, the son and heir of the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa. Considering the country and climate, and the juvenile age at which royal ladies were then given in marriage, Constance was rather in advanced life—for she was thirty-two years old! The dower and the hope of succession were, however, brilliant and tempting; and Henry espoused her with great pomp and magnificence, in 1186, in the city of Milan. In the month of November, 1189—little more than three years after this marriage, and between nine and ten months before the arrival of the crusaders at Messina—William the Good died at Palermo, in the thirty-sixth year of his age, leaving his childless widow, Joan, the sister of Richard, who was only in her twenty-fourth year, to the care of his successor. This successor was declared by his will to be his aunt Constance, to whom, and to her husband Henry, some time before his decease, he had, according to the practice of the age, made the barons of the kingdom, on both sides the Faro, take an anticipatory oath of allegiance, at the town of Troja, in Apulia. But he was no sooner dead than his will and the oaths he had exacted were alike disregarded. The prejudice against a female succession was as strong as ever; and it was not prejudice, but laudable policy, in the people of the south to be adverse to the rule of the German emperors, who were already formidable in the north of Italy, which they had deluged with blood, and who threatened the independence of the whole peninsula. By the insular portions of the kingdom, or in Sicily proper, the notion of being governed by Henry, a foreign prince, was held in abhorrence. Constance and Henry were both far away at the time, and, encouraged by these feelings and circumstances, several

of the great barons, more or less closely connected with the royal family, advanced claims to the crown. It was difficult, and in part impossible, to reconcile these pretensions; but at length the mass of the people and a large majority of the nobles agreed to elect Tancred, count of Lecce, cousin to the deceased king, William the Good, but reputed of illegitimate birth, though avowedly born of a lady of the noblest rank. In Sicily, as in England, the church had made great advances in the establishment of the rights of legitimacy; but these rights were, as yet, far from being imperative or sacred in the eyes of the people, who, in all circumstances, would have preferred a bastard to a woman, and whose choice on the present occasion fell on a prince of ripe manhood and mature experience, who had many qualities to recommend him, besides that of his descent from the great Ruggiero, the founder of the dynasty. Tancred was, therefore, hailed king by public acclamation,* and solemnly crowned at Palermo, in the beginning of the year 1190. His election by the nobles and people, or his right, was acknowledged by the court of Rome, just as that of Stephen had been in England, and the reigning Pope (Clement III.) sent him the usual bulls of investiture and the benediction. Though acceptable and dear to the people, Tancred's throne was immediately disturbed by his disappointed competitors, and by Archbishop Walter and some of the Apulian barons, who declared for Constance, and armed in her cause. In the island of Sicily this insurrection was defeated by the unanimity of the people; and passing over to the continent in person, Tancred presently reduced most of the Apulian barons to his obedience. But the civil war had weakened him—plots and conspiracies were forming against him, and Henry of Suabia, now emperor, by the

* Giannone says, "Tancredi adunque non altro titolo l
plausabile poteva allegar per sè, se non la volontà de' Pop
This great writer, no doubt, thought the "will of the peo
one of the best of rights, but he durst not say so, *when* l
here he wrote.

death of his father, Barbarossa, was on his march to the south with a powerful army, to claim the throne for Constance, when Richard, received as a guest, commenced his course of aggressions.*

The question of Tancred's legitimacy was not, in itself, likely to claim much of the Lion-heart's attention; his quarrel had a more private ground. When the late king, William the Good, married his sister Joan, in the first impulse of love and generosity, he gave her a magnificent dower—the cities of Monte Sant' Angelo and Vesti, the towns and tenements of Ischitella, Peschici, Vico, Caprino, Castel Pagano, and others, with their several castles; Lesina and Varano, with their lakes and the forests adjoining; two stately monasteries, with their pastures, woods, and vineyards—in short, in one extensive and solid mass, the whole of the beautiful country comprised in the great promontory of Monte Gargano, between the provinces of Apulia and the Abruzzi, was allotted to the fair daughter of our Henry II. Tancred, on his accession, had withheld this splendid dower, and had even, it was said, deprived the young queen-dowager of her personal liberty.† Richard's first demand was for the enlargement of his sister; and, whether she had been a prisoner or not, it is quite certain that Tancred sent her immediately to her brother, from Palermo to Messina, escorted by the royal galleys. The impetuous king of England then demanded her dower, which, under circumstances, it would not have been easy for Tancred to put her in possession of, as the territories lay in the very heart of the great fiefs of the continental barons, who were again in revolt. Without waiting the result of peaceful negotiations, into which Tancred readily entered, Richard, embarking part of his army, crossed the straits of Messina, and took possession, by force of arms, of the town and castle of Bagnara, on the opposite coast of Calabria. Leaving his sister Joan, with a good garrison, in this castle, he returned to Messina, to commit another act of

* Angelo di Costanza.—Giannone.—Fazello.—Muratori.

† This fact is not admitted by the oldest Sicilian historians.

aggression. There was a monastery on the sea-shore (a little beyond the port of Messina) that covered one of the flanks of his army, which was encamped outside the town. The place was capable of being strongly fortified, and was otherwise well suited to his purpose; so he drove the monks out of it, and, garrisoning it for himself, converted it into a place of arms and military store-house. Whether the poor Sicilians loved these monks* or not, the honour of their wives and daughters was dear to them, and they were probably as jealous as at the time of the "Vespers," a century later; and when Richard's disorderly soldiers of the cross, the very day after this seizure of the monastery, "strolled licentiously through the city, with much lasciviousness,"† the townspeople set upon them in the streets, killed several of them, and then closed the gates of the town. On this, the whole camp armed, and English, Normans, Angevins, Poictevins, with the rest that followed Richard's standard, rushed to the walls, and would have scaled them then, had not their king ridden among them, and commanded them to desist, beating them the while with his truncheon as hard as he could.‡ He then went to the quarters of the king of France, whither the magistrates of the town soon repaired. After mutual complaints, promises of redress were made on both sides, and the king drew off his men to their tents and ships. On the following morning a solemn meeting was held, with a view of providing for future tranquillity and concord among all parties; for Richard's men and the followers of the French king regarded each other with evil eyes, and had already shed some blood in brawls. The prelates and chief barons of the two nations, and the principal men of Messina, went with Philip to the quarters of Richard. While they were deliberating, a troop of incensed Sicilians gathered on the hills above the English camp, with the intention, it is

* From some accounts it appears that the monastery was occupied by Greek monks. If that were the case, they were not likely to be very dear to the Messinese.

† Fazello.—Ist. de Sic. ‡ Hoved.—Vinesauf.

said, of attacking the king. A Norman knight was wounded by these people, and so great an uproar arose, that Richard rushed from the conference, and called all his men to arms. The English and Normans rushed up the hill-side, but the French did not move, and Philip at one moment seemed inclined to take part with the Sicilians. Richard drove the multitude from the hill, and followed them with the sword in their loins to the city. Some of the English entered pell-mell with the fugitives, but the gates were then closed, and the citizens prepared to defend their walls. Five knights and twenty men-at-arms were killed before the walls, but Richard, having brought up nearly the whole of his force, took the town by storm, and planted his banner on its loftiest tower, as if it had been his own town, or one taken in regular warfare. At this exhibition Philip was greatly incensed, but an open rupture between the two sworn brothers in arms was avoided for the present, by Richard's consenting to lower his banner, and commit the city to the keeping of the Knights Hospitallers and Templars, till his demands upon Tancred should be satisfied.

Soon after this altercation the kings of France and England solemnly renewed their vows of friendship and brotherhood, and, by the advice of the prelates embarked in the crusade, took measures for repressing the excesses of the pilgrim-soldiers.

Two of Tancred's nobles and prime favourites—his admiral and another—commanded at Messina at the time of Richard's arrival. Seeing that resistance was vain, and feeling that their dignity was committed by remaining in a town where a foreign prince gave the law, they both retired with their families and moveable property; upon which, Richard seized their houses, galleys, and whatever else they had not been able to carry off with them. He made a complete castle of the monastery on the sea-side, digging a broad and deep ditch round it, and he built a new fort on the hills above the town.* These, and other

* This castle, called Mattagriffone, after having been en-

proceedings, excited the envy and disgust of Philip; but they probably hastened the conclusion of a treaty with Tancred, who, in the difficulties under which he was labouring, could hardly contend with so fierce and powerful a disputant. Richard demanded for his sister all the territories before mentioned, together with a golden chair, a golden table, twelve feet long, and a foot and a half broad, two golden trestles for supporting the same, twenty-four silver cups, and as many silver dishes —to all which, it appears, she as queen was, by the custom of that kingdom, entitled. After all this, he demanded for himself, as representative and heir of his father, a tent of silk, large enough to accommodate 200 knights sitting at meals, 60,000 measures of wheat, and 60,000 of barley, with 100 armed galleys equipped and provisioned for two years.* In the end, Richard either proposed or agreed to a compensation in money. Twenty thousand golden oncie† were paid in satisfaction of all Joan's demands, and twenty thousand more were paid to Richard himself, but not in satisfaction for his claim, which he waived (caring little, probably, on what ground he obtained the money, so long as he got it), but on a treaty of marriage which he concluded.‡ He affianced his young nephew Arthur, who was his heir presumptive,§ to an infant daughter of Tancred, and engaged, in case the marriage should be prevented by the death of

arged and repaired at different periods, still frowns over Messina.

* Hoved.—Bened. Abb.

† An *oncia* is a Sicilian gold coin; the present value is about ten shillings English.

‡ The Sicilian historians mention only one payment of 20,000 *oncie*, and this they put down to the account of the dota, or dower of Tancred's daughter.

§ In the treaty, Richard styled him his "most d nephew and heir," mentioning, however, the condition his dying without children—"*Si fortè sine prole nos obire ingeret.*"—Recueil des Historiens de France.—Daru, H la Bretagne. The unfortunate Arthur was little m in two years old at the time of this contract.

either of the parties, that he or his heirs would repay to Tancred or his heirs the twenty thousand oncie then received by him, as the dower of the infant. But the treaty went further than this; for Richard guaranteed to Tancred the possession of Apulia, which was partly in revolt, and of the important city of Capua, which had never submitted to the new king. He, indeed, contracted with him what we now call an alliance offensive and defensive—a league he had cause to regret when his evil fortune threw him into the power of Tancred's competitor, the Emperor Henry. The treaty was sent to Rome, to be placed in the hands of the Pope, who was invited, both by Richard and by Tancred, to enforce its observance, should any want of faith be shown by either of the contracting parties in the sequel. The money obtained was lavished by Richard in a manner which appeared thoughtless and wild; but his liberality had the effect of increasing his popularity with the crusading host. Such a multitude of men collected on one point had greatly raised the price of provisions; and Richard's treasure, and his table too, were open to the crossed knights of all countries, who complained of the expensiveness of their sojourn at Messina. On the feast of Christmas he gave a splendid banquet, to which he invited every man of the rank of a knight or gentleman, in both armies; and when the dinner was over, he made a present in money to each, the amount being more or less, according to the rank of the parties. A little army of troubadours and minstrels, who had followed him from Aquitaine and the rest of the south of France, constantly sang his praises. Part of the winter months were spent in repairing the ships, and in preparing catapults, manginalls, and other warlike engines, wherewith to batter the walls of the infidel towns in Syria and Palestine, the timber for which was cut on the mountains of Sicily and in the extensive forests of Calabria. But time hung heavily on the hands of the impatient Richard. In a period of inactivity he was seized with a fit of devotion and penitence. He called all the prelates together that were then with his host at Messina, into the chapel of

Reginald de Moiac, in whose house he then resided; and there, in presence of them all, falling down upon his knees, he confessed his sins and the profligate life which he had hitherto led, humbly received the penance enjoined him by the bishops; "and so," adds an old historian, who did not sufficiently bear in mind the deeds of his after life, "he became a new man, fearing God, and delighting to live after his laws."*

A short time after these exercises Richard mounted his horse, and rode to the flanks of the towering and smoking Mount Etna, which had recently been in active eruption. At the city of Catania he was met by appointment—and it appears for the first time—by Tancred. The two kings embraced, and, walking in splendid procession to the cathedral church (another work of the Normans), prayed, kneeling side by side, before the shrine of St. Agatha. They lived in great cordiality, and each seemed to entertain a high respect for the valour and character of the other. Like the heroes of Homer, they exchanged presents, Tancred giving Richard a ring, and Richard giving Tancred a sword, reputed to be the enchanted blade Excalebar, or Caliburn, of the British king Arthur. But his Sicilian majesty also gave, as a contribution to the holy war, four large ships and fifteen galleys. On his return to Messina, he accompanied his guest for many miles, even as far as the town of Taormina; and before they parted there, it is said, he gave to Richard a letter wherein the French king declared his majesty of England to be a traitor, who meant to break the peace and treaty he had concluded with the king of Sicily, and offered to assist Tancred to drive him and his English out of the island. Cœur de Lion, after a furious explosion, expressed a doubt whether Philip, his liege and sworn comrade in that pilgrimage, could be guilty of so much baseness. Tancred declared that the letter had really b delivered to him, as from the king of France, by Duke of Burgundy; and he vowed that, if the d should deny having so delivered it, he would make g

* Holinshed.

his charge upon him, in the lists, by one of his barons.* When he arrived at the camp Richard met Philip with a clouded brow, and a day or two after, in the course of one of their many altercations, he produced the letter, and asked the French king if he knew it? Philip pronounced it to be a vile forgery, and, changing defence into attack, accused Richard of seeking a pretext for breaking off his marriage with the French princess. All the clamour Richard had raised for his affianced bride, in the last months of his father's reign, was merely for political purposes: as soon as Henry died he dropped all mention of the Lady Aliz; and at this very moment, as Philip no doubt well knew, he had contracted a very different alliance, and was every day expecting another wife. "I see what it is," said Philip; "you seek a quarrel with me, in order not to marry my sister, whom, by oath, you are bound to marry; but of this be sure, that if you abandon her, and take another, I will be all my life the mortal enemy of you and yours." Richard replied that he could not and never would marry the princess, as it was of public notoriety that his own father Henry had had a child by her; and, according to the minute relater of these curious passages, he produced many witnesses to prove to Philip the dishonour and shame of his own sister. True or false, this exposure was a cruel and degrading blow, not likely ever to be forgotten or forgiven.† For the present, however, Philip bartered his sister's honour for a pension, agreeing to

* There are several versions of this mysterious story; we have chosen that which appears most natural. If there was any deceit about the letter, it was practised by Tancred. It is said that before Richard's arrival the Sicilian prince had offered one of his daughters to Philip for his infant son, and that the French king had rejected the alliance. But, again, it is said that, a few hours after Richard had left him at Taormina, Tancred met Philip at the same town and passed the night with him in a friendly manner. The native historians are provokingly silent on nearly all the transactions of the crusaders in Sicily.

† According to an old French writer the insult was "a

release Richard from his previous matrimonial contract, and permit him to marry whatsoever wife he chose, for two thousand marks a-year, to be paid for the term of five years. Besides promising this money, Richard engaged to restore the Princess Aliz, together with the fortresses received as her marriage portion, as soon as he should return from the Holy Land.—[Eventually the lady was not restored till some years after that event, when she espoused the Count of Ponthieu.]—This precious arrangement, and the settlement of other differences, were confirmed on both sides by fresh oaths. Philip then got ready for sea, and, after receiving some vessels and stores bountifully given him by Richard, he set sail on the 30th of March, 1191, for Acre. Richard, with a few of his most splendid galleys, accompanied him down the straits of Messina, and returning the same evening to Reggio, on the Calabrian coast, took on board his new bride, who had been for some time in the neighbourhood, waiting only for the departure of the French king. This lady was Berengaria, the beautiful daughter of the King of Navarre: Richard had seen her in her own country a year or two before his father's death, and was passionately enamoured of her at the moment when, to annoy Henry, he was raising such a clamour for the Princess Aliz. His passion was disinterested, for he gained no territories by the union, and seems to have stipulated for no political advantages, when he despatched his mother Eleanor to ask the hand of Berengaria. It is said that the fair maiden partook of his generous passion, and that, without being deterred by the many dangers and privations to which she exposed herself, she joyfully consented to travel with her mother-in-law from the Pyrenees to the Alps and Apennines, and thence to follow her husband beyond sea to the land of Paynim. Leaving Navarre with a suitable escort of barons, knights, and priests, young Berengaria and Eleanor, whose activity was

nail stuck in and driven through the heart of Philip."—Serres, Inventaire Général de l'Hist. de France.

Roger of Hoveden gives the fullest account of this quar e also Diceto.

destroyed by age, travelled by land to Naples, and from the gay city of Naples they travelled on through the passes of Monteforte and Bovino, and across the vast Apulian plain to the ancient city of Brindisi, there to wait until the French king should be out of the way. As the expedition of Richard was so nearly ready for sea when the royal travellers arrived, it was not thought proper to delay its sailing, and, as the penitential season of Lent was not quite over, the marriage was not celebrated at Messina; and the queen-mother, having placed the bride under the matronly care of her own daughter Joan, the dowager-queen of Sicily, embarked for England four days after. According to a quaint old rhyming writer, "Dame Joan held her sister Berengaria very dear, and the two ladies lived together like two birds in one cage."* They did not embark in the same ship with Richard, but a separate galley was delicately allotted to them.

The day after Eleanor's departure for England the whole fleet set sail for Acre. As a rapid current carried it through the straits of Messina it presented a beautiful and imposing appearance, that called forth the involuntary admiration of the people of either shore,—the Sicilians saying that so gallant an armament had never before been seen there, and never would be seen again. The size and beauty of the ships excited this admiration not less than their number. The flag of England floated over fifty-three galleys, thirteen dromones, "mighty great ships with triple sails,"† one hundred carikes or busses, and many smaller craft. Thirty busses from England had arrived just before, bringing out fresh stores and men. The mariners of England, however, were not then what centuries of struggle and experience have made them; and when a great tempest arose, soon after leaving the Sicilian sea, the whole navy was "sore tossed and turmoiled," and scattered in all directions, not a few of the ships being foundered or cast on shore.‡ After a

* Robert of Brunne.

† By this is meant that they were three-masted.

‡ It is said, however, by one who was on board the fleet, that the sailors did everything that it was possible for human

narrow escape himself on the coast of Candia or Crete, Richard got safely into Rhodes; but the ship which bore his sister and his bride was not with him, and he passed several days in distressing anxiety as to their fate. At Rhodes he fell sick, and was detained there several days. Incapable of taking the sea himself, he despatched some of his swiftest vessels to look after the ladies and collect the scattered fleet. This storm blew more mischief to the petty tyrant of Cyprus than to any one else. One of the English scouts returned to Rhodes with the information that two of his ships had been cast ashore on the island of Cyprus, and that the people of the country had barbarously plundered the wrecks and cast the mariners and crusaders into prison. Vowing vengeance, Richard embarked, and, departing immediately with all of the fleet that had joined him at Rhodes, made way, with press of oars and sails, for the devoted island. Off Limisso, or Limasol, then the principal seaport town of Cyprus, he found the galley of his bride and sister. The sovereign of the island was one Isaac, a prince of the imperial race of the Comneni, who pompously styled himself "Emperor of Cyprus." When harshly called upon for satisfaction, he put himself in a posture of defence, throwing out some armed galleys to the mouth of the harbour of Limasol, and drawing up his troops along shore. These troops were ill calculated to contend with the steel-clad warriors of Richard, for, with the exception of a body guard which was splendidly armed and appointed, they had no defensive armour, but were half naked, and the mass of them had no better weapons than clubs and stones. Richard boarded and took the galleys, dispersed the troops, and made himself master of the city, with little difficulty. The inhabitants fled, but had not time to carry off their property, which the crusaders made prize of. They found an abundance of provis
of all kinds, and when Queen Joan and Bereng

skill to do; but old Vinesauf was a landsman, and not a g
judge, and people then allowed very narrow limits to
xtent of human skill in many things.

landed at Limasol they were welcomed with a feast. Having rallied to make another impotent attempt at resistance, the Cypriots were surprised the next morning, and "killed like beasts," their "emperor" saving his life by flying "bare in serke and breke."* Isaac, who had now learned to his cost the might and fury of the enemy he had provoked, sent to sue for a conference of peace. Richard, gaily mounted on a Spanish charger, and splendidly attired in silk and gold, met the humbled Greek in a plain near Limasol. The terms he imposed were sufficiently hard. That very night the Greek fled to make another vain effort at resistance; but Richard had no great right to complain of this, seeing that he treated Isaac not as a reconciled enemy and ally, but as a prisoner of war, having actually placed guards over him, whose brute force the Greek defeated by a very excusable exercise of cunning. Despatching part of his army by land into the interior of the country, Richard embarked with the rest, and, sailing round the island, took all the maritime towns, and cut off Isaac's flight by sea, for he seized every ship, and even every boat, though of the smallest dimensions. Isaac fought another battle; but the contest was in every way unequal. Nicosia, the capital, surrendered, and Isaac's beautiful daughter fell into the hands of Richard, who gave her as a companion to Berengaria. Isaac, who doated on his child, lost all heart in losing her, and quitting a strong castle or fortified monastery in which he had taken refuge, he again sought the presence of the conqueror, and threw himself at his feet, imploring only for the restoration of his child and for the preservation of his own life and limbs. The conqueror would not restore his fair captive, and he sent her father away to be confined in a strong castle at Tripoli in Syria. The unfortunate captive was loaded with chains; but it is said that, in consideration of his rank, Richard

* Robert of Brunne. From Vinesauf and Hoveden it appears that Isaac, betrayed by the Cypriots, was surprised before he was out of bed, and fled without armour or clothes.

ordered that his fetters should be forged of silver instead of rude iron.* If the Cypriots had been discontented with their old master, they had little reason to be satisfied with their new one. Richard's first act of government was to tax them to the amount of half of their movable property, after which he gave them an empty confirmation of the rights and privileges which they had enjoyed in former times under the emperors of Constantinople. The amount of provisions and stores of all kinds which he carried off was so considerable that it enabled the crusaders to carry on their operations with much greater vigour and success than they could otherwise have done. Having conquered, and in a manner settled, the island, he returned to Limasol, and at length celebrated his marriage with the Lady Berengaria, who was anointed and crowned by the bishop of Evreux. All these important operations did not occupy more than a month, and, granting the present government of the island to Richard de Camville, one of the constables of the fleet, and Robert de Turnham,† Richard embarked with his fleet for Acre. Sailing between Cyprus and the Syrian coast, he fell in with a dromon, or ship of the largest size, which was carrying troops and stores to the great Saladin. He attacked her with his usual impetuosity, threatening to crucify all his sailors if they suffered her to escape. She was taken after a gallant action, in which the superior height of her board, and an abundant use of the Greek fire, to which Richard's followers were as yet unaccustomed, gave her for some time a decided advantage. There were on board seven Emirs, or Saracens of the highest rank, and 650—some say 1500—picked men. Thirty-five individuals only were saved, the rest were either massacred or drowned, the great ship sinking before the crusaders could remove much of her cargo.‡

* Isaac died a prisoner four years after.

† Several of the Italian historians say he sold the government of Cyprus to the Order of the Templars, but this does not appear very probable.

‡ Vinesauf.—Hove.—Bohadin, the Arab historian.

On the 8th of June an astounding clangour of trumpets and drums, and every instrument of war in the Christian camp, hailed the arrival of Richard and his host in the roadstead of Acre. The welcome was sincere, for their aid was indispensable. The French king had arrived some time before, but had done nothing, and the affairs of the crusaders were in a deplorable condition, for, after prosecuting the siege of Acre the best part of two years, they were not only still outside the walls, but actually pressed and hemmed in, and almost besieged themselves, by Saladin, who occupied Mount Carmel and all the neighbouring heights with an immense army. The loss of human life was fearful. The sword and the plague had swept away six archbishops, twelve bishops, forty earls, and five hundred barons, whose names are recorded in history, and 150,000 of "the meaner sort," who went to their graves without any such record.* This heavy draft upon population had been supplied by fresh and continuous arrivals from all parts of Christendom, for, like a modern conqueror, Europe then believed that the fate of Syria and the East lay within the narrow circuit of Acre. The operations of the besieged, which had languished for some weeks, were vigorously renewed on Richard's arrival; but the kings of France and England quarrelled again almost as soon as they met: the besiegers became again inactive, and then threw away some thousands of lives from mere pique and jealousy of each other. The French and the English soldiery took a full share in the animosities of their respective leaders; and of the other bodies of crusaders, some sided with Philip, and some with Richard. The Genoese and Templars espoused the quarrel of France, the Pisans and Hospitallers stood for England; and, on the whole, it appears that Richard's more brilliant valour, and superior command of money and other

* We have taken the very lowest estimate. Vinesauf, who was present part of the time, calculates that 300,000 Christians perished during the long siege. Bohadin, and other Arabic writers, carry the number to 500,000 or 600,000!

means, rendered the English faction the stronger of the two. The French tried to take the town by an assault without any assistance from the English, and then the English, wishing to have all the honour to themselves, repeated the like experiment without the French, and with the like ill success. These two fatal attempts showed the necessity of co-operation, and another brief reconciliation was effected between the rivals.

Richard's personal exertions* attracted universal admiration in the camp, and gave rise to fresh jealousies in the breast of Philip. At length, being disappointed of aid from Cairo, and seeing that Saladin could no longer penetrate the Christian lines to throw in provisions, the brave Mussulman garrison offered to capitulate. After some negotiation, during which Philip and Richard once more disagreed, it was finally stipulated that the city should be surrendered to the crusaders, and that the Saracens, as a ransom for their lives (for their property, even to their arms, was forfeited), should restore the wood of the holy cross, set at liberty 1500 Christian captives, and pay 200,000 pieces of gold. Some thousands of Saracens were detained as hostages in the fortress for the performance of these conditions. Immediately afterwards,—it was on the 12th of June, 1191,—the crusaders entered Acre, and Saladin, evacuating all his positions, retired a short distance into the interior. The banners of the two kings were raised with equal honour on the ramparts; but it appears that Richard took the best house in the place for the accommodation of himself and family, leaving Philip to take up his lodgings with the Templars. Scarcely, however, had they entered this terrible town ere the French king expressed his determination to return to Europe. The cause he alleged for his departure was the bad state of his health;† but this probably was not

* He worked like a common soldier at the heavy battering engines. When sick, he caused himself to be carried to the intrenchments on a silk pallet or mattress.

† Philip had been sick. Some of the French chroniclers accuse Richard of having given him poison!

the true one—it certainly was not the only cause. Though Jerusalem was in the hands of the Mussulmans, there was a disputed succession to the throne among the Christians:—Guy of Lusignan had worn the crown in right of his wife, a descendant of the great Godfrey of Bouillon, the first Christian king of Jerusalem; but Sybilla was dead, and Conrad, marquis of Monferrat and prince of Tyre, who had married her sister, contended that the sole right of Guy of Lusignan was extinct by the demise of his wife, and that the crown devolved to himself as the husband of the legitimate heiress. The dispute was referred to the English and French monarchs, and it was not likely that they, who from the commencement of the crusade had never agreed in anything, should act with concord in this important matter. As soon as Philip reached Acre, without waiting for the opinion of Richard, he declared in favour of the claims of Conrad, who seems to have been much better qualified for a throne that was to be won and maintained by the sword than his miserable competitor Lusignan. Richard, however, swayed by other motives, or possibly merely out of pique, had declared against Conrad, and when Lusignan visited him as a suppliant in Cyprus, he had acknowledged him as king of Jerusalem, and, with his usual liberality, had given him a sum of money, his majesty being pennyless and almost in want of bread. This subject had given rise to many disputes during the siege, and they were renewed with increased violence when the capture of Acre gave the French and English kings more leisure. In the end, Philip was obliged to yield so far to his fiery and determined rival as to allow that Lusignan should be king of Jerusalem during his life.

The king of France was otherwise irritated by the absolute will and constant domineering of his rival, who was as superior to him as an adventurous warrior as he was superior to Richard in policy and political forethought. One of our old rhyming chroniclers no doubt hit part of the truth when he said—

"So that King Philip was annoyed there at the thing,
That there was not of him a word, but all of Richard the king." *

But, after all, we should be doing a manifest injustice to Philip's consummate king-craft were we not to suppose that one of his strongest motives for quitting an unprofitable crusade was to take advantage of Richard's absence in order to raise and consolidate the French kingdom,—an end perfectly natural, and perhaps laudable in itself, however dishonourable the means that were employed to effect it. Dazzled as he was by dreams of chivalry and glory, Richard himself was yet not so blind as to overlook the danger that threatened him in the west, and, after his efforts to persuade Philip to remain had all failed, he exacted from him an oath not to make war upon any part of the territories of the English king, nor attack any of his vassals or allies, until at least forty days after the return of Richard from Palestine. Besides taking this oath, Philip agreed to leave at Acre 10,000 of his followers, to be immediately commanded by the duke of Burgundy, who, however, was bound to recognise the superior authority of the English monarch. In the popular eye, Philip appeared as a deserter, and the mob of all nations that witnessed his departure from Acre hissed him and cursed him.† His absence, however, saved him from direct participation in an atrocious deed. Forty days was the term fixed for the fulfilment of the articles of capitulation. Receiving neither the Christian captives, nor the cross, nor the money, Richard made several applications to Saladin, who was unable or unwilling to fulfil the conditions, though he sent to offer Richard some costly presents for himself. A rumour—apparently false—was spread through the Christian camp and the town of Acre, that Saladin had massacred his Christian captives, and the soldiers demanded instant vengeance, making a fearful riot, and killing several of their officers who appeared to be opposed to a massacre in cold blood. On the following day the term of five

* Rob. Gloucester. † Vines.—Hoved

days expired.. At an appointed hour a signal was given, and all the Saracen hostages were led out beyond the barriers of the French and English camps, and butchered by the exulting and rejoicing crusaders. Richard presided over the slaughter at one camp,—the Duke of Burgundy at the other. Between 2000 and 3000 prisoners* were thus destroyed, and only a few Emirs and Mahommedans of rank were saved from the carnage, in the hope of obtaining valuable ransoms from their families. Some centuries had to elapse ere this deed excited any horror or disgust in Christendom. At the time, and indeed long after, it was considered as a praiseworthy smiting of the infidels,—as a sacrifice acceptable to Heaven. It appears that, after this, Saladin ordered the massacre of the Christian prisoners in his hands.

Having restored the battered works of Acre, Richard prepared to march upon Jerusalem. The generality of the crusaders by no means shared his impatience; "for the wine (says old Vinesauf) was of the very best quality, and the city abounded with most beautiful girls;"—and the gravest knights had made a Capua of Acre. At length, however, Richard tore them from these enjoyments, and, leaving behind him his sister and wife, and the fair Cypriot, and strictly prohibiting women from following the camp, he began his march on the 22nd of August. Thirty thousand men, of all countries, obeyed his orders, marching in five divisions: the Templars led the van; the Knights of St. John brought up the rear. Every night, when the army halted, the heralds of the several camps cried aloud three times, "Save the holy sepulchre!" and every soldier bent his knee, and said "Amen!" Saladin, who had been reinforced from all parts, infested their march every day, and encamped near them every night, with an army greatly superior in num-

* We have again taken the very lowest number. Bohadin, the Arab, says that 3000 were destroyed by Richard alone, and that the duke of Burgundy sacrificed a like number. Hoveden says that 5000 were slain by the king and the duke.

bers. On the 7th of September Richard brought him to a general action near Azotus, the Ashdod of the Bible, on the sea-shore, and about nine miles from Ascalon; and after a display of valour which was never surpassed, and of more cool conduct and generalship than might have been expected, he gained a complete victory. Mourning the loss of seven thousand men and thirty-two emirs, Saladin, the victor of many a field, retreated in great disorder, finding time, however, to lay waste the country, and dismantle the towns he could not garrison or defend; and Richard advanced without further opposition to Jaffa, the Joppa of Scripture, of which he took possession.* As the country in advance of that position was still clear of enemies, the Lion-heart would have followed up his advantages, but many of the crusaders, less hardy than himself, were worn out by the heat of the climate and the rapid marches on which he had already led them; and the French barons urged the necessity of restoring the fortifications of Jaffa before they advanced. No sooner had Richard consented to this arrangement than the crusaders, instead of prosecuting the work with vigour, abandoned themselves to a luxurious ease; and Richard himself gave many of his days to the sports of the field, disregarding the evident fact that Saladin was again making head, and that hordes of Saracens were scouring the country in detached parties. Several skirmishes ensued. On such onslaughts, say the chroniclers, Richard's cry was still "St. George, St. George!" Many adventures are related of this flower of chivalry,—this pearl of crusading princes. His battle-axe seems to have been the weapon most familiar to his stalwart arm. He had caused it to be forged by the best smiths in England before he departed for the East, and twenty pounds of steel were wrought into the head of it, that he might "break therewith the Saracen's bone" † Nothing, it was said, could resist this mighty axe, d

* Jaffa is still a considerable maritime town, distant about thirty miles from Jerusalem.

† Weber, Metrical Romances.

wherever it fell; horseman and horse went to the ground. When the fortifications of Jaffa were restored, the Lion-heart was duped into a further loss of time, by a negotiation artfully proposed by Saladin, and skilfully conducted by his brother, Saphadin, who came and went between the two armies, and spite of his turban, ingratiated himself with Richard. At last, the crusaders set forth from Jaffa; but it was now the month of November, and incessant rains, nearly equal to those in tropical countries, wetted them to the skin, rusted their arms, spoiled their provisions, and rendered the roads almost impassable. Crossing the plain of Sharon, where "the rose of Sharon and the lily of the valley" no longer bloomed, they pitched their tents at Ramula,* only fifteen miles in advance of Jaffa; but the wind tore them up and rent them. They then sought quarters at Bethany, where they were within twelve miles of the holy city; but their condition became daily worse—famine, disease, and desertion thinned their ranks, and Richard was compelled, sore against his will, to turn his back on Jerusalem. He retreated rapidly to Ascalon, followed closely by the loose light cavalry of the Kourds and Turks, who, though they could make no impression on the main body, or even penetrate the rear guard, where the gallant knights of St. John wielded sword and lance, yet did much mischief by cutting off stragglers, and caused great distress by keeping the whole force constantly on the alert by night as well as by day. Ascalon, so celebrated in the ancient history of the Jews, was still a city of great importance, being the connecting link between the Mahommedans in Jerusalem and the Mahommedans in Egypt. Saladin had dismantled its fortifications, which Richard now determined to restore in all haste. To set a good example, he worked, as he had already done at Acre, upon the walls and battlements, like a common mason, and he expected every prince and noble would do the

* Ramula, Ramla, or Ramah, is the Arimathea of Scripture. A little beyond it begin the almost impracticable mountain defiles of Judæa, which extend to Jerusalem.

same; for the common crusaders required a stimulus, and the Saracens seemed to be gathering for an assault or siege. All the men of rank, with the exception of the proud duke of Austria, thought it no dishonour to do as the king of England did. There was an old quarrel between these two princes. During the siege of Acre, the duke of Austria took one of the towers, and planted his banner upon it; Richard, enraged at this step, which appears to have been, at least, out of order, tore down the banner, and cast it into the ditch. Such an affront could never be forgotten. And now, when urged by Richard to work on the fortifications of Ascalon, the duke replied that he would not, seeing that he was the son neither of a mason nor of a carpenter. Upon this, it is reported that Richard struck him or kicked him, and turned him and his vassals out of the town, with threatening and most insulting language. Notwithstanding the duke's refusal, the greatest personages there, including bishops and abbots, as well as lay lords, worked as masons and carpenters, and the repairs were soon completed. Richard then turned his attention to the other towns which Saladin had dismantled, or which had not been previously fortified; and in the course of the winter, and the following spring, he made the whole coast from Ascalon to Acre a chain of well-fortified posts; and below Acre he rebuilt the walls of Gaza. Before these works were completed, however, his forces were considerably diminished: his lavish generosity had hitherto kept the French and other soldiers not his subjects together; but now his treasures were nearly exhausted. Hence arose a wonderful cooling of zeal—a disposition even to criticise his military skill, and a pretty general defection on the part of all except his English and Norman subjects. Acre, a pleasanter place than Ascalon, was again crowded with jealous and mercenary chieftains, and became a very hot-bed of corruption and political intrigue. The Genoese and Pisans fought openly in the streets of the town, hiding their old animosities under the pretence of combating for the rights of the lawful king of Jerusalem; for Richard's treaty in favour of Guy had

settled that question. The Genoese had declared for Conrad of Montferrat—the Pisans for Guy of Lusignan; and when Conrad himself, disregarding the treaty and the power of the English king, joined his troops with those of the Genoese, a sort of civil war seemed imminent among all the Christians in Palestine. On this, Richard moved from Ascalon to Acre, effected a reconciliation between the Genoese and Pisans, and forced Conrad to retire. He attempted to conciliate that nobleman, who had given him many other causes of complaint; but Montferrat insultingly rejected all overtures, and withdrew to his strong town of Tyre, where he opened a correspondence with the common enemy, Saladin, and where he was soon joined by 600 French knights and soldiers, whom he had seduced from Richard's garrison at Ascalon. Saladin, who was, in all respects, a rival worthy of Richard, gaining fresh heart from the dissensions of the Christians, once more condensed his forces, in the hope of striking a decisive blow. About this time the Lion-heart, in some distress of mind, wrote to the abbot of Clairvaux,* who had great interest in several of the European courts, earnestly entreating him to rouse the princes and people of Christendom to arms, in order that he might have a force sufficient for the occasion, and that Jerusalem, the inheritance of the Lord, might be rescued, and made secure for the future. This letter apparently was scarcely despatched when he received others from his mother, Eleanor, informing him that his own throne in England was beset by the greatest of dangers. At this crisis he opened a negociation for peace, declaring to Saladin that he wanted nothing more than the possession of Jerusalem, and the wood of the true cross. To this Saladin is reported to have replied, that Jerusalem was as dear to the Mussulmans as to the Christians,† and that his conscience and the law of the prophet would not

* The successor of St. Bernard, who had done more than any other single individual, after Peter the Hermit, to promote the crusades.

† The Arabs still call Jerusalem "El Gootz," or "The Blessed City."

permit him to connive at idolatry or the worshipping of a piece of wood.

In order to reconcile parties, and facilitate his own return to Europe, Richard now abandoned the cause of Guy of Lusignan, whom he liberally recompensed by the gift of the island of Cyprus; and consented that Conrad of Montferrat, who was supported by the French, the German, and the Genoese factions, should be crowned King of Jerusalem. But he was murdered in the streets of Tyre, while preparing for his coronation, by two of the Assassins, the fanatic subjects of the Old Man of the Mountain. The murderers were seized, and put to the torture. Hoveden and Vinesauf both say that the wretches declared that they had murdered Conrad by the order of their master, in revenge for injuries done to his people and insults offered to himself by Conrad, whose imprudent quarrel with the Old Man of the Mountain was notorious. Bohadin, the Arab historian, indeed, affirms that the men said they were employed by the King of England; but another Arabic writer, of equal weight, says that the murderers would make no confession whatever, but that, triumphing amidst their agonies, they rejoiced that they had been destined by Heaven to suffer in so just and glorious a cause; and this account agrees better with the character of the wonderful association to which they belonged, and is more probable than any other. But the French king, the German emperor, the Austrian duke, and other sovereigns, were burning with spite and revenge against him; and Philip, more especially, who was contemplating an attack on Richard's dominions, in order to cover his infamy filled all the west with exclamations against his rival's perfidy. In the meanwhile the French within the town, declaring that Richard had employed the murderers, rose in arms, and demanded from the widow of Conrad that she would resign Tyre to them: this she refused to do; and the people, siding with the countess, took up arms against the French. In the midst of the tumult, Count Henry of Champagne, King Richard's own nephew, made his appearance, and, at the invitation of the people, took

possession of Tyre and the other territories in Palestine which had been held by Conrad. Soon after, by marrying Conrad's widow, young Henry of Champagne received her claim to the imaginary crown, and the crusaders, with the Christians in the country, generally acknowledged Richard's nephew as King of Jerusalem.

Richard had attempted to conceal his many causes of uneasiness, and when the army showed that they were aware that his presence was most earnestly prayed for in his own dominions, he issued a proclamation stating his fixed resolution of remaining in Palestine another year. By his promises and exertions he again restored something like unanimity of purpose, and at the end of May the crusaders once more set out on their march towards Jerusalem under his command. Early in June he encamped in the valley of Hebron, where he received some messengers from England bringing fresh accounts of plots within, and armed confederacies without, his dominions. We follow the most consistent, though not the most generally received account, in saying that, on this intelligence, and at the prospect of the increasing power of the Saracens, and of the increasing weakness and destitution of the Christian forces, to whose wants he could no longer administer, Richard now came to a stand, and turned his heart to the west. A council, assembled at his suggestion, declared that, under present circumstances, it would be better to march and besiege Cairo, whence Saladin drew his main supplies, than to attack Jerusalem. This decision was perhaps a wise one, but it came too late. Richard, however, pretended that he would follow it, upon which the Duke of Burgundy wrote a song reflecting, in severe terms, on his vacillation. Richard did not reply by dispatching two emissaries of the Old Man of the Mountain, or by adopting any other unfair measure: he revenged himself with the same instrument with which the offence had been given, and wrote a satire on the vices and foibles of the Duke of Burgundy. It could not be expected, however, that the Lion-heart should renounce his great enterprise without feelings of deep mortification. It is related of him, that when a

friend led him to the summit of a mountain which commanded a full view of Jerusalem, he raised his shield before his eyes, declaring that he was not worthy to look upon the holy city, which he had not been able to redeem. If the expedition to Egypt had ever been seriously contemplated, it was presently seen that it was impracticable; for as soon as a counter-march from the Hebron was spoken of, all discipline abandoned the camp, and, after some conflicts among themselves, the mass of the French and Germans deserted the standard altogether. Richard then fell back upon Acre. Taking advantage of the circumstance, the vigilant Saladin descended from the mountains of Judea, and took the town of Jaffa all but the citadel. At the first breath of this intelligence, Richard ordered such troops as he had been able to keep together to march by land, while he, with only seven vessels, should hasten by sea to the relief of Jaffa. On arriving in the road he found the beach covered with a host of the enemy, but, turning a deaf ear to the advice and fears of his companions, and shouting, "Cursed for ever be he that followeth me not!" he leaped into the water. The knights in the ships were too high-minded to abandon their king; and this small body dispersed the Saracens, and retook the town. On the following day, between night and morning, Saladin came up with the main body of his army, and Richard, who had been joined by the troops that had marched by land, went out to meet him in the open country behind Jaffa. The Lion-heart made up for his immense inferiority in point of number by careful and judicious arrangement; and the victory of Jaffa, which was most decisive, is generally esteemed as the greatest of his many exploits. Overpowered by a generous admiration, Saphadin, seeing him dismounted, sent him, during the action, two magnificent horses, and on one of these Richard pursued his successes till night-fall. Every champion that met him that day was killed or dismounted; and the ordinary troops, whenever he headed a charge against them, are said to have turned and fled at the very sight of him. It was by deeds like these that Richard left a traditionary

fame behind him that grew and brightened with the passing years, and that his name became a word of fear in the mouth of the Mussulman natives.

As the battle of Jaffa was the most brilliant, so also was it the last fought by the Lion-heart in the Holy Land. His health and the health of his glorious adversary were both declining; and a mutual admiration and respect facilitated the terms of a treaty which was concluded shortly after. A truce was agreed upon for three years, three months, three weeks, three days, and three hours; Ascalon was to be dismantled, after Richard had been reimbursed the money it had cost him; but Jaffa and Tyre, with all the castles and all the country on the coast between them, were to be left to the peaceful enjoyment of the Christians. The pilgrims of the west were to have full liberty of repairing to Jerusalem at all seasons, without being subjected to those tolls, taxes, and persecutions which had originally provoked the crusades. All parties immediately prepared to avail themselves of the treaty, and since they could not enter Jerusalem as conquerors, to visit it as licensed pilgrims.

A violent fever, brought on by his tremendous exertions in the field of Jaffa, is said to have been the cause why Richard himself did not visit Jerusalem; but it is at least probable that his reluctance to enter merely on sufferance that town which he had so vehemently hoped to conquer, had some share in this omission.

In the month of October, 1192, on the feast-day of St. Dionysius, Richard finally set sail from Acre with his queen, his sister Joan, the Cypriot princess, and the surviving bishops, earls, and knights of England, Normandy, Anjou, and Aquitaine. The next morning he took a last view of the mountains of Lebanon and the hills above the Syrian shore. With outstretched arms he exclaimed, "Most holy land, I commend thee to God's keeping. May he give me life and health to return and rescue thee from the infidel." A storm arose and scattered the fleet:—it was the usual season for tempestuous weather in the Mediterranean; but people attributed the storm to the wrath of Heaven at the Christians sailing

away and leaving the tomb and the cross of Christ unredeemed. Some of the vessels were wrecked on the hostile shores of Egypt and Barbary, where the crews were made slaves; others reached friendly ports, and, in time, returned to England. The galley in which Richard's wife and the other ladies were embarked reached Sicily in safety. It is not very clear why Richard sailed in another vessel, or why he did not take his way homeward through the friendly land of Navarre; but we are told that when within three days' sail of the city of Marseilles, fearing the malice of his numerous enemies, he suddenly changed his course for the Adriatic, resolving, it should seem, to pursue his way homeward from the head of that sea through Styria and Germany. He reached the island of Corfu about the middle of November, and there he hired three small galleys to carry him and his suite, which consisted of Baldwin of Bethune, a priest, Anselm, the chaplain, and a few Knights Templars,—in all twenty individuals. After escaping capture by the Greeks, who were among his numerous enemies, he landed at Zara, on the coast of Dalmatia, where his liberal expenditure attracted attention, and defeated the object of his disguise. He had put on the humble weeds of a pilgrim, hoping that this dress, with his beard and hair, which he suffered to grow long, would enable him to cross the continent without being discovered. A storm drove him on the coast of Istria, between Venice and Aquileia. From this point he and his companions, crossing the Friuli mountains, proceeded inland to Goritz, a principal town of Carinthia. He could hardly have taken a worse course; for Maynard, the governor of this town, was a near relation to Conrad of Montferrat. Richard sent a page to Maynard to ask for a passport for Baldwin of Bethune and Hugh the merchant, who were pilgrims returning from Jerusalem. To forward his request, the young man presented a very valuable ring as a proof of his master the merchant's good will towards the governor. Maynard, much struck with the beauty and value of the ruby, exclaimed, "This is the present of a prince, not of a mer-

chant;—your master's name is not Hugh, but King Richard: tell him, from me, that he may come and go in peace." The king was alarmed at this discovery, and, having purchased some horses, he fled by night. Baldwin of Bethune and seven others who remained behind, were arrested by Maynard, and the news was spread far and wide that the King of England was advancing into Germany in a helpless state. The fugitives rode on without accident or molestation till they reached Freisach, in the territory of Saltzburg, where Richard was recognised by a Norman knight in the service of Frederick of Beteson, another near connexion of Conrad. The Norman's sense of duty to his native prince overcame the love of money—for a large reward had been offered for the detection and apprehension of the disguised king,—and instead of seizing him he warned him of his danger, and presented him with a swift horse. Richard escaped with one knight and a boy who spoke the language of the country, but all the rest of his companions who had been able to keep up with him thus far were taken and thrown into prison. After travelling three days and three nights without entering a house, and almost without nourishment of any kind, he was compelled by hunger and sickness to enter Erperg, a village close to Vienna. His ignorance of the country was probably the cause of his lighting on a spot which, of all others, he ought most carefully to have avoided. Though sensible of his danger, Richard was too weak to renew his flight. He sent the boy to the market-place of Vienna to purchase provisions and a few comforts which he greatly needed. With his usual thoughtlessness in these matters, he had given the boy a quantity of money, and dressed him in costly clothes. These things excited attention, but the messenger eluded inquiry by saying that his master was a very rich merchant, and would presently make his appearance in Vienna. The boy was again sent into the town to make purchases, and for some days escaped further notice; but one day that he went as usual, the citizens saw in his girdle a pair of such gloves as were not worn save by kings and princes. The poor lad was instantly

seized and scourged, and on being threatened with torture and the cutting out of his tongue, he confessed the truth, and revealed the retreat of the king. A band of Austrian soldiers surrounded the house where Richard was, forgetting his pains and anxieties in a deep sleep. Surprised and overpowered as he was, Richard drew his sword, and refused to surrender to any but their chief. That chief soon made his appearance in the person of his deadliest enemy—Leopold, Duke of Austria, who had arrived from the Holy Land some time before him. "You are fortunate," said Leopold, with a triumphant smile, as he received the sword which had often made him quail; "and you ought to consider us rather as deliverers than as enemies: for, by the Lord, if you had fallen into the hands of the Marquis Conrad's friends, who are hunting for you everywhere, you had been but a dead man though you had had a thousand lives." The duke then committed the king to the castle of Tiernsteign, which belonged to one of his barons called Hadmar of Cunring.*

When the Emperor Henry, the degenerate son of the great Frederick Barbarossa, was informed of this arrest, he claimed the prisoner, saying, "A duke must not presume to imprison a king,—that belongs to an emperor." Henry, the sixth of the name in the list of emperors, and whom old historians designate as "a beggar of a prince, ferocious and avaricious,"† hated Richard almost as much as Leopold of Austria did. This arose chiefly out of the English king's close alliance with Tancred of Sicily, whom the emperor held as the usurper of his or his wife Constance's rights. In the summer of 1191, the year in

* There are several versions of Richard's adventures from the time he left Acre to his captivity in the hands of the emperor, but they do not differ very essentially, and are about equally romantic. We have adopted what appears to us the simplest and most consistent story, the chief authorities being Hoveden, Brompton, R. Coggeshall, William of Newbury, and Matthew Paris.

† Legendre, Hist. de France.

which Richard sailed from Messina for Acre, Henry, accompanied by his Sicilian wife, advanced with a powerful German army into the south of Italy, and laid siege to the city of Naples, which made a faithful and gallant stand for Tancred. During the heats of summer a *malaria* fever carried off a vast number of his men, and some nobles of high rank, and, as soon as Henry fell sick himself, he raised the siege of Naples, and made a disgraceful retreat. Tancred then established himself on the disputed throne more firmly than ever, nor had the emperor been able to retrieve his honour in the South. He was, however, at the moment of Richard's capture, engaged in preparations for that object, and he was overjoyed at an event which would save him from the dangerous hostility of so great a warrior and so powerful a prince; for the English king, it will be remembered, had entered into an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the occupant of the Sicilian throne, and Henry and his advisers had little doubt that, if he reached England in time, Richard would perform his part of the treaty, and prevent the success of the emperor.* The Duke of Austria would not resign his prisoner without a reservation of his own claims, and a payment, or at least a promise, of a large sum of money from Henry. The disgraceful sale and transfer took place at the feast of Easter, 1193, after which, it appears that, even in Germany, Richard was entirely lost sight of, and men knew not where he was confined for some time.

In following the romantic adventures of one who was rather a knight-errant than a king, and whose history is

* Tancred died at the end of 1193, during Richard's imprisonment. He died a king, and transmitted the crown to his young son, William, who, however, could not keep it on his head. The Emperor Henry, in 1195, enriched with Richard's ransom, invaded his dominions, and became master of them after much treachery and bloodshed. The cruelties committed by the gaoler of Cœur de Lion were most atrocious; his advent in Sicily and Naples was made memorable by an apparently interminable process of burning, hanging, blinding, and mutilating.

more that of a crusade than a reign,* we have strayed far and long from England. And what were the home events during the interval? Our information is scanty, but enough is on record to show that they were of a gloomy nature.

The tragedy of the Jews, enacted at Richard's coronation, was speedily repeated in several of the other principal towns of the kingdom, beginning at Lynn, in Norfolk, in the month of February, 1190, while Richard was in Normandy. All these horrors, indeed, were committed before he sailed for Palestine; but though so near home, he was unable or unwilling to check them in their progress, or inflict a proper punishment on the offenders. Within a month, the populace rose, and robbed and slaughtered the Jews at Norwich, Stamford, St. Edmondsbury, and Lincoln. The great massacre of York was not a mere popular tumult; it was conducted in a systematic manner, and evidently had, for one of its objects, the destruction of the bonds that were evidence of, and security for, the great debts owing by the nobles to the York Jews.

The next important events during Richard's absence arose out of the struggle for power between Hugh Pudsey, the Bishop of Durham, and Longchamp, the Bishop of Ely. The reader has been already informed how Pudsey purchased the post of chief justiciary for 1000 marks. Richard, before he departed from England, nominated a new regency and appointed other justiciaries, by which measures Pudsey's bought authority was wofully reduced. These additional justiciaries were, Hugh Bardolf, William Briwere, and Longchamp—the last-named being the royal favourite, in whose hands Richard openly showed his intention of placing the whole power of the government. Besides his justiciaryship, Longchamp held the chancellorship, for which he had paid 3000 marks. He was, moreover, entrusted with the custody of the Tower of London. He was a man of great worldly wisdom, activity, and talent for business;

* Sir James Mackintosh.

his ambition was immense, and must soon have made itself felt; but the first accusation his opponents seem to have brought against him was his lowness of birth. His grandfather, they said, had been nothing but a serf in the diocese of Beauvais. Richard, however, who did not judge of him by the condition of his grandfather, issued letters patent addressed to all his lieges, commanding them to obey Longchamp in all things even as they would obey the king himself. He wrote to the pope, to obtain for him the legation of England and Ireland; and when Longchamp was appointed legate—which he was immediately—his power in spiritual matters completed his authority.

Poor Pudsey would not, without a struggle, sink into the obscurity for which he seems to have been best fitted. Complaints against Longchamp's excessive power had been sent after Richard, and he arrived in great triumph in London, with letters from the king, importing that he should be restored to some part, or to the whole of his former authority. Although Longchamp was absent from London, his rival received an immediate check there from the barons of the Exchequer, who refused to admit him on the bench. Thus rejected, Pudsey posted after Longchamp, who was in the north, and surrounded by an armed force devoted to his interest. When the brother bishops met, he of Ely was all courtesy and compliance. He said he was quite willing to obey the king's commands; and then he invited his lordship of Durham to visit him that day se'nnight in the royal castle of Tickhill. Pudsey, with "singular simplicity," accepted the invitation; and as soon as he was within the castle walls, Longchamp laid hands on him, exclaiming, "As sure as my lord the king liveth, thou shalt not depart hence until thou hast surrendered all the castles which thou holdest. This is not bishop arresting bishop, but chancellor arresting chancellor." Nor was Pudsey released from this duresse until he surrendered the castle of Windsor, and the custody of the forest, together with the shrievalty of the county, as well as the earldom of Northumberland and the lordship of Sad-

burgh—everything, in short, which he had purchased from the king. Longchamp's power was now without check or control. He had the whole powers of civil and military, and, we may add, ecclesiastical government; and he is represented as tyrannizing equally over clergy and laity. "Had he continued in office," said his enemies, "the kingdom would have been wholly exhausted; not a girdle would have remained to the man, nor a bracelet to the woman, nor a ring to the knight, nor a gem to the Jew." Another writer says he was more than a king to the laity, and more than a pope to the clergy. Abroad and at home he made a display of as much or more power and parade than had been exhibited by any Norman king. A numerous guard always surrounded his house; wherever he went he was attended by a thousand horse; and when he passed the night at an abbey or any house on the road, his immense and greedy retinue consumed the produce of three whole years—a poetical exaggeration, implying that they ate, and drank, and probably wasted a great deal. He was a munificent patron of minstrels, troubadours, and jongleurs; he enticed many of them over from France, and these sang his praises in the public places, saying there was not such a man in the world.* It is evident that Longchamp was vain of his authority; but there is nothing to indicate that he was not most loyal to the king, and anxious for the preservation of peace in the kingdom; the worst shades in his portrait were put in by men who were notoriously disloyal to Richard, and careless of deluging the country with blood, so long as they fancied that they were forwarding their own views; and it was the bishop's decided opposition to these men that first called forth the accusations against him. Peter of Blois, whose testimony carries no small weight, speaks most highly of Longchamp, and styles him a man famed for wisdom and unbounded generosity, as also for his amiable, benevolent, and gentle temper. In those turbulent times,

* Sir Francis Palgrave, Introduct. Rot. Cur. Reg. Mat. Par.—Hoved.—Newbr.—Gervase.

and with such crafty, remorseless opponents as Earl John and his advisers, it was almost impossible that he should preserve peace; but while the ambitious and the great envied him, it is probable that the humbler and quieter classes in the land saw him with pleasure get that power into his hands which alone could give him a chance of averting the storm. He was the first to see that John was endeavouring to secure the succession to the throne, and he steadily opposed those pretensions. After many violent dissensions, John wrote to his brother to tell him that the chief justiciary was ruining king and kingdom; and several barons of his faction put their signatures or crosses to this letter. Richard, whose confidence in Longchamp was scarcely to be shaken, sent, however, from Messina, two letters patent, in which he ordered, that *if* the accusations against him were true, then Walter, Archbishop of Rouen, was to assume the regency, or chief justiciaryship, with William Mareschal and Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, as his colleagues; if false, the three were, nevertheless, to be associated with him in the government. Although these letters are preserved in the contemporary chronicle of Ralph de Diceto, their authenticity has been questioned; and it appears quite certain, that if they were really written, Richard repented of his doubts; and that immediately before he set sail from Messina he addressed letters to his subjects in nearly the same terms as those written about a year before from France, requiring them all to obey Longchamp, whom he again mentions with the greatest affection and honour. It is also equally certain, that though the Archbishop of Rouen came into England from Sicily, he never showed any royal order until a year later, when Longchamp was overwhelmed by his enemies.

As soon as John knew for a certainty that his brother had departed from Sicily, beyond which the real perils of the crusade were supposed to begin, he assumed the state and bearing of an heir-apparent about to enter upon his inheritance. He knew that Richard had named his nephew Arthur for his heir; but that circumstance irritated without discouraging him—he felt that a child

would be no formidable rival if he could only dispose of Longchamp, who was bent on doing his master's will in all things, and who, by Richard's orders, had opened a treaty with the King of Scotland to support Arthur's claims in case of necessity. The decisive conflict, which had been postponed as long as Richard was in Europe, began as soon as his loving brother thought he was fairly in Asia. Gerard de Camville, a factious baron and a partisan of John, claimed the custody of Lincoln Castle, and kept that place in defiance of the regent's authority. Raising an army, Longchamp marched to Lincoln; but, while he was besieging the castle, John put himself at the head of a still more numerous army, and attacked the royal castles of Nottingham and Tickhill, and took them both after a siege of two days. This done, the earl sent a threatening message to the regent. Longchamp was taken by surprise; he gave up the siege at Lincoln, and Gerard de Camville did homage for his castle to John.* The regent then convened the chiefs of the king's army and the barons most attached to Richard, and warned them that John was seeking the government: but he was not properly supported, and being compelled to yield, a truce most disadvantageous to Longchamp was concluded between the contending parties. The regent was forced to agree that a certain number of the royal castles, the possession of which had hitherto constituted his greatest strength, should be placed in the custody of various bishops and barons, who were sworn to keep the fortresses in the king's fealty until he should return from Palestine; but should he die during his pilgrimage, then they were to deliver them to Earl John. At the same time another concession of almost equal importance was extorted from Longchamp; the settlement in favour of Arthur was formally set aside; and, the regent himself directing the act, the earls and primates

* John seems to have assumed a royal authority in the domains which Richard had too liberally given him. From the importance of these possessions the chroniclers call John the 'Tetrarch.'

of the kingdom took the oath of fealty to John, acknowledging him, should Richard die without issue, as heir to the throne.* For a short time John was satisfied with the progress he had made, and left to the chancellor-regent his places and honours; but the tranquillity thus insured was disturbed by circumstances artfully arranged.

Geoffrey, Archbishop of York, the son of Henry II. by Fair Rosamond, had been compelled to swear that he would live out of England. He was now preparing to return to obtain possession of his church. The whole board of justiciaries joined their chief in prohibiting his landing; and Longchamp, fairly acting in the exercise of his authority, commanded the sheriffs to arrest Geoffrey, should he disregard the injunction. At the instigation of his half-brother John, Geoffrey defied the regent, and landed at Dover, where, however, he was presently obliged to take refuge in a church. When the requisition was made by the sheriff or the constable of Dover, he replied that he would never submit to that "traitor, the Bishop of Ely." It was required of him that he should swear fealty anew or depart the kingdom. For three days he refused to answer, and his asylum was respected the while; but on the fourth morning the officers broke into the church, where the archbishop had just concluded mass, seized him at the foot of the altar, and, after literally dragging him through the streets, lodged him in Dover Castle. At the news of this transaction, which excited considerable indignation among the people, John and his party were overjoyed. They had got Longchamp fast in the snare they had laid for him; and now they produced what they called Richard's authority for displacing him altogether, and substituting the Archbishop of Rouen.

In vain did the regent plead that he had not directed the more violent and offensive part of the proceedings against Geoffrey,—that the authorities of Dover had thought fit to understand much more from his warrant than he ever intended. It was equally in vain that, at

* B. Abbas.—Hoved.—Ricardus Divisiensis.—Diceto.

the solicitation of the Bishop of London, who gave security for his good behaviour, Longchamp released Geoffrey within a very few days, and allowed him to go to London. John, acting with the Archbishop of Rouen, who assumed all the right of a chief justiciary, peremptorily summoned him to make amends to the Archbishop of York, and to answer for the whole of his public conduct before the King's Council. The semblance of an affection which was as sudden as it was tender, sprang up between John, who had hitherto hated him, and his illegitimate brother. On the one side all the prelates and barons in the kingdom were invited or ordered by John to assemble—on the other they were all forbidden by Longchamp (who declared that John's object was to disinherit his sovereign) from holding any such meeting. The meeting, however, was held at Loddon Bridge on the Thames, between Reading and Windsor; and Longchamp himself, who was in Windsor Castle, was ordered to attend—an order he did not care to obey. There John and Geoffrey embraced each other weeping; and John, who was a good actor, fell on his knees before the bishops and barons, and implored them to avenge his dear brother's wrongs. Soon after this meeting Longchamp marched from Windsor Castle to the capital, being informed by Richard Bisset that Earl John intended to seize the city of London. The regent required the citizens to close their gates against the earl; but Geoffrey, the Archbishop of York, who was beforehand with him, had spread disaffection, and John was close behind him with a considerable army. Under these circumstances the Londoners replied to the regent's summons by declaring that they would not obey a traitor and disturber of the public peace. Sorely disappointed, Longchamp took refuge in the Tower of London; and Earl John was joyfully received on taking a solemn oath that he would be faithful to his brother Richard, and would maintain and enlarge the franchises of the city.

On the following day, the 9th of October, 1191, it was decreed by what was called the unanimous voice of the bishops, earls, barons, and citizens of London, that

the chief justiciar should be deposed, and that John should be proclaimed "The Chief Governor of the whole kingdom." On receiving this news Longchamp fainted and fell on the floor. At an early hour the next morning John assembled his troops in the East Smithfield, which was then a great, open, green plain. A part of his forces, united with a London mob, had already closely blockaded the Tower both by land and water. The deposed regent came out of the fortress to receive the propositions of his opponents, which were rather liberal, in order, probably, to induce Longchamp to ratify John's title. They offered him his bishopric of Ely, and the custody of three of the royal castles. But he was not to be won, and his conduct on this occasion was honourable and dignified: he refused to commit any of the king's rights, or to surrender any of the powers entrusted to him by his master. "But," said he, "you are stronger than I: and, chancellor and justiciary as I am, I yield to force." So saying, he delivered up the keys of the Tower to John.

It is rather surprising that, after these proceedings, Longchamp should be left at large, and allowed to escape from the kingdom. It appears, however, that he was obliged to put on an unseemly disguise. Some fishermen's wives saw the tall figure of a woman sitting on the sea-shore near Dover, with a web of cloth under one arm and a mercer's yard-measure in the right hand: upon a nearer inspection, the woman discovered under the "green hood" the "black face and new-shorn beard of a man."* It was the Bishop of Ely, the regent, the chancellor, on his way to Normandy! John appointed

* Viderunt faciem hominis nigram et noviter rasam. Hoved. We have omitted the indelicate and *improbable* parts of the story of Longchamp's escape which were written by Hugh, Bishop of Coventry, the bitter enemy of the Chancellor. Peter of Blois took Hugh to account for this satire, which was evidently intended to put Longchamp in a more ridiculous and degrading light than Archbishop Geoffrey had been in at the same place—Dover.

the Archbishop of Rouen grand justiciary and chancellor in his place, and sequestrated the revenues of his bishopric to answer for public moneys which he was accused of having dissipated or purloined. Longchamp offered to account for every farthing which had come into his hands. He maintained in the face of the world that his beloved master had never ordered his removal, which had been effected by force, in order that John might with the more ease usurp the crown. The pope, to whom he wrote from Normandy, took this view of the case, and warmly espoused Longchamp's quarrel, denouncing excommunication against all those who had seized his authority. This time the anathema had little or no effect, for not a bishop in England would obey the commands of pope or legate. The displaced minister wrote to his master, who assured him that he had not withdrawn his confidence from him, and it should appear (we venture no positive assertion where all is mystery and confusion) that Richard made representations to his mother in his behalf, for in the following year Longchamp was in friendly correspondence with Eleanor, and soon after, through her means, with John himself, who had probably not found all he expected in the new chief justiciary, the Archbishop of Rouen,—a man acknowledged by all parties as a prudent and upright minister, one who conducted himself mildly and conscientiously, refusing all bribes, and deciding equitably and according to law. Prince John, on the contrary, was only to be gained by money, and when Longchamp made him a large offer for repurchasing his places, he invited the exile back to England, promising to reinstate him. Eleanor, it is said, had been already propitiated by *gifts* and *promises;* and she certainly joined John in setting up Longchamp, and endeavouring to persuade the Archbishop of Rouen and the other prelates and nobles to reinstate the legate. John, who, in fact, had displaced Longchamp under a colour of acting in obedience to his brother's orders, now unblushingly urged that it would much displease the king to know how Longchamp had been removed from the government without his command. It is quite evident

that this fickle, selfish prince only wanted to make money.

A council being assembled at London during these negotiations, a messenger suddenly presented himself, and announced the arrival of his master, Longchamp, "legate and chancellor," at Dover. Alarmed at this intelligence, the new ministers sent for John, who soon appeared and told them that Longchamp defied them all, provided he could obtain his (John's) protection, for which he offered 700*l.*, to be paid within a week; and he concluded this significant speech by saying that he was in great want of money, and that "a word to the wise is enough." Such a monition could not be misunderstood, and, anxious to prevent the return of their great rival, the ministers agreed to buy John off by lending him 500*l.* from the king's treasury. John then withdrew his proposition; Eleanor did the same, and a harsh and threatening letter was addressed to Longchamp in the name of the queen, the clergy, and the people, insisting upon his immediate departure from England.* The fallen minister withdrew again to Normandy, there to await the return of his master.

Such was the state of the government in England. On the Continent, the French king, who was in close correspondence with Earl John, and who disregarded all his solemn oaths, was preparing most dishonourably to take advantage of Richard's absence. Almost as soon as he returned to France, Philip had demanded the cession of Gisors and the other places in the Vexin constituting the dower of that princess, together with the person of Aliz, whom (strange to say) he offered in marriage to John, who (stranger still) listened to the proposition with a willing ear. The governor of Normandy replied that he had no orders from his master; and all of them knew that, by the treaty of Messina, these restitutions were not to be made until the return of Richard. Philip then threatened to invade Normandy; but, when his army was partly assembled, some of the French nobles refused to accompany him, alleging the oaths they had taken to

* Palgrave, Rot. Cur. Reg.

protect his states, and in no way make war on Richard till he should be returned from the crusade. As the pope, too, expressed his abhorrence of the project of invasion, and threatened him with the thunders of the church, Philip was obliged to renounce his disgraceful enterprise, and to satisfy himself with hatching mischief to his rival by intrigues still more disgraceful.

John offered no objection whatever to the marriage with Aliz, and Philip engaged to put him in possession of all that his heart had so long coveted.* These intrigues were in full activity when the news of Richard's departure from the Holy Land arrived in England. The people were daily expecting his arrival, when vague and contradictory, and then very inauspicious, intelligence began to circulate. Some returned crusaders asserted that he must have fallen into the hands of the Moors, others that he must have perished at sea, and others again affirmed that they had seen the ship in which he had embarked safe in the Italian port of Brindisi. We are sorry at being again forced to reject a touching and beautiful legend, but, leaving Blondel in the congenial hands of the poets, we fear that in historical soberness we must attribute the discovery of Richard's imprisonment to the copy of a letter from his gaoler the Emperor Henry to King Philip. The emperor told the king that the enemy of the empire—the disturber of France—was loaded with chains and safely lodged in one of his castles of the Tyrol, where trusty guards watched over him, day and night, with drawn swords. This discovery shocked and disgusted all Europe. Longchamp, who was still on the continent, was one of the first to learn it, and the first to adopt measures for his master's deliverance. Earl John openly rejoiced at the intelligence; but Richard's English subjects voluntarily renewed their oaths of allegiance. The Archbishop of Rouen, and the bishops and barons, met at Oxford, and immediately sent two deputies—the abbots of Broxley and Pont-Robert—into Germany to give the king advice and consolation.

* Script. Rer. Franc.—Hoved.—Newb.

Beyond the Alps, as everywhere else where the cause of the crusades was cherished and Richard known as the greatest champion of the cross, a most violent indignation was excited. The pope at once excommunicated Leopold, the Austrian duke, and threatened the emperor with the same sentence. Seeing that he could not work his ends with English means, John hastened over to Paris, where he surrendered the greater part of Normandy to the French king, and did Philip homage for the rest of his brother's continental dominions. He then engaged some troops of foreign mercenaries, and returned home, having agreed with his ally, that Philip should fall upon Normandy with a powerful army, while he (John) overran England.

John took the castles of Windsor and Wallingford, and, marching on London, reported that his brother was dead in prison, and demanded the crown as lawful heir. For a moment the steadiness of the grand justiciary, the Archbishop of Rouen, was doubtful, but the prelates and barons raised Richard's standard, defeated John's mercenaries, and compelled him to retreat. He, however, obtained an armistice, during which he extended the threads of his intrigues. Philip was still less fortunate in Normandy; for, after advancing to Rouen, he was beaten by the indignant and enthusiastic people commanded by Richard's old comrade, the brave Earl of Leicester, who had got safely from Palestine.

In the mean time, though irritated by the indignities he suffered, and occasionally depressed by the notion that his subjects would abandon him—a captive as he was in the hands of his ungenerous enemies—Richard's sanguine and jovial spirit saved him from any long fits of despair or despondence. He whiled away the weary hours by singing or composing troubadour verses, and when tired of this resource, he caroused with his keepers, who seem to have been about equally pleased with his music, his facetiousness, and his powers of drinking.

Borne down by the weight of European opinion, and the authority of the church, the emperor was at length obliged to relax his hold; and Longchamp, who was

now with Richard, seems to have been instrumental in inducing him to produce his captive before the diet at Hagenau. Richard was on his way to that place, when the two abbots despatched from England first met him. He received them in a gay and courteous manner. The full accounts they gave him of his brother's treachery made him look grave; but it was only for a moment, and he said, laughing, "My brother John, however, will never gain a kingdom by his valour." On his arrival at Hagenau, Richard was received with a show of courtesy; but his first interview with the emperor was discouraging. Henry revealed all his avarice and unjustifiable pretensions, and made many demands, with which his captive would not comply, saying he would rather die where he was than so drain his kingdom and degrade his crown. On the following day, Richard appeared before the diet of the empire; and Henry, who had no right over him, except what he gained by treachery and force, and from the exploded theory of the imperial supremacy over all the kings of the west, accused him of many crimes and misdemeanours, the chief of which were:—1. His alliance with Tancred, the usurper of Sicily. 2. His treatment of Isaac, the Christian sovereign of Cyprus. 3. His insults offered to the Duke of Austria, and through him to the whole German nation. 4. His impeding the crusade by his quarrels with the French king. 5. His having employed assassins to murder Conrad of Montferrat. 6. The most impudent charge of all—his having concluded a base truce with Saladin, and left Jerusalem in his hands.

Richard, after asserting that his royal dignity exempted him from answering before any jurisdiction except that of Heaven, yet condescended, for the sake of his reputation, to justify his conduct before that august assembly, which was composed of all the ecclesiastical and secular princes of Germany. His speech is not given by any original writer, but it is stated by Hoveden and other contemporaries, that his reply to all the charges was manly, clear, and convincing—that his eloquence filled the members of the diet with admiration, and left

no suspicion of guilt in their minds.* Matthew Paris says that the emperor was convinced of Plantagenet's innocence, and that he treated him thenceforth with humanity. He still, however, exacted a heavy ransom, though it is difficult to understand by what right, or under what decent pretext, he could detain Richard, or put him to ransom, if his innocence was acknowledged. But there was no right in the transaction—no decency in the actors in it; it began in revenge, and was to end in money, and as much money as could be possibly obtained, without a care or a thought about guilt or innocence. After fixing one price, the emperor raised it to another, and the bargain was protracted for five tedious months, during which, though his fetters were removed, Richard was still kept in prison. This was, no doubt, the most anxious and most painful part of his captivity. He sent Longchamp, as his chancellor, to the council of regency, to press the raising of the ransom. The captivity of the king, or superior lord, was a case especially provided for by the feudal tenures on which the vassals of the crown and others held their estates; and a tax of twenty shillings was, therefore, imposed on every knight's fee. The clergy and laity were besides called upon for a fourth part of their yearly incomes. While the money was slowly raising, the emperor still kept increasing his demands. At last, on the 22nd of September, 1193, the terms were fixed. It was agreed that Richard should pay 100,000 marks of pure silver of Cologne standard to the imperial court; that he should also pay 50,000 marks to the emperor and the Duke of Austria conjointly,

* Richard produced two letters from the Old Man of the Mountain, or the Prince of the Assassins, who (in them) gloried in having ordered the murder of the Marquis of Montferrat, *because* the marquis had robbed and murdered one of his subjects. These letters are generally set down as spurious; but they *may* have been written, and, as Sir James Mackintosh remarks, the unskilful hands of the chroniclers *may* have disfigured them, without encroaching on their substantial truth. But, true or false, such evidence was scarcely wanted.

giving sixty hostages to the emperor for 30,000 marks, and other hostages to the Duke of Austria for 20,000 marks; on condition, however, that these 50,000 marks should be remitted altogether if Richard performed certain private promises. Several clauses of this treaty were either secret or added afterwards. It was also agreed that Richard should restore Isaac of Cyprus to his liberty, though not to his dominions, and deliver Isaac's beautiful daughter to the care of the Duke of Austria, and send his own niece, Eleanor of Brittany, the sister of young Arthur, to be married to the Duke of Austria's son. Henry, on his side, agreed to aid Richard against all his enemies; and, that he might have the air of giving something for so much money, invested him with the feudal sovereignty of the kingdom of Arles, or Provence—an obsolete right which the emperors long claimed without being able to enforce it. According to Hoveden, one of the very best of contemporary authorities, Richard, in an assembly of the German princes and English envoys, by delivering the cap from his head, resigned his crown into the hands of Henry, who restored it to him again, to be held as a fief of the empire, with the obligation attached to it, of paying a yearly tribute of 5000 pounds. But is there not some error in the transmission of this statement, or was not the fanciful crown of Arles here intended? Such a debasing tender may, however, have been made by Richard to cajole the German, and defeat the active intrigues of his brother John and King Philip. These precious confederates offered to pay the emperor a much larger sum than that fixed for the ransom, if he would detain Richard in captivity. Henry was greatly tempted by the bait; but the better feelings of the German princes, who had attended the diet, compelled him to keep his bargain. More difficulties than might have been expected were encountered in obtaining the money for the ransom; and what was procured seems to have been raised almost wholly in England, the continental dominions contributing little or nothing. In our island, the plate of all churches or monasteries was taken; the Cistercian monks, who

had no plate, gave up their wool; and England, in the words of an old annalist, "from sea to sea was reduced to the utmost distress." Seventy thousand marks were sent over to Germany, and in the month of February, 1194, Richard was at length freed.* He landed at Sandwich, on the 13th of March, after an absence of more than four years—about fourteen months of which he had passed in the prisons of the duke and emperor. Though they had been sorely fleeced, the English people received him with an enthusiastic and honest joy.

There was wealth enough left to give him a magnificent reception in London; and one of the German barons who accompanied him is said to have exclaimed, "Oh king, if our emperor had suspected this, you would not have been let off so lightly."† After spending only three days at London, he headed such troops as were ready, and marched against Nottingham Castle, belonging to Earl John, which surrendered at discretion. As for John himself, being timely advised by his ally, Philip, who wrote to him as soon as he learned Richard's deliverance, "Take care of yourself—the devil is broken loose,"—he had put himself in safety at a distance. On the 30th of March, Richard held a great council at Nottingham, at which it was determinded among other things, that if John did not appear within forty days, all his estates in England should be forfeited, and that the ceremony of the king's coronation should be repeated, in order that every unfavourable impression which his captivity had made might be thereby effaced.‡ Accordingly he was re-crowned with great pomp (not at Westminster, but at Winchester) on the feast of Easter. All his attention was again turned to the raising of money; and

* Hoved.—Brompt.—Diceto.—Newb.—Matt. Par.—Rymer, Fœd.—Michaud, Hist. des Croisades.—Mills, Hist. Crusades.—Raumer, House of Hohenstaufen.

† Brompt.—Hemingford.

‡ It appears that Richard was opposed to this re-coronation, but submitted to it in deference to the opinion of the council.

he proceeded with as little scruple or delicacy as he had done four years before when filling his purse for the holy war.

A.D. 1194.—Even from a nature much less fiery and vindictive than Richard's, the forgiveness of such injuries as had been inflicted by the French king could scarcely be expected. Philip, moreover, who during his confinement had sent him back his homage, was now actually in arms within, or upon the frontiers of, his continental states. Richard prepared for war, and his people of England were as eager for it as himself. About the middle of May, he landed at Barfleur, in Normandy, bent on revenge. He was met at his landing by his craven-hearted brother John, who threw himself at his feet, and implored forgiveness. At the intercession of his mother Eleanor, Richard forgave him, and received him into favour. This is a noble trait, and a wonderful one, considering the amount of the provocation and the barbarous usages of the times. "I forgive him," said Richard, "and hope I shall as easily forget his injuries as he will forget my pardon."* The demoniac character of John was placed in a not less forcible light. Before quitting Philip's party, he invited to dinner all the officers of the garrison which that king had placed in Evreux, and massacred them all during the entertainment. His hands were wet with this blood when he waited upon Richard; but with all his vices, we think too well of the Lion-heart to believe that such a deed facilitated his pardon. Although begun with fury, this campaign was carried on rather languidly and on a confined scale; in part owing to the impoverished state of Richard's exchequer, and in part to the disaffection prevalent in most of his dominions on the continent. He, however defeated Philip in several engagements, took several towns, and in one encounter got possession of his adversary's military chest, together with the cartulary, the records, and the archives of the crown. The campaign terminated, on the 23rd of July, in a truce for one year.

A.D. 1195.—Hubert Walter, who had been lately ad-

* Brompt.

vanced from the bishopric of Salisbury to the archbishopric of Canterbury, was appointed guardian of England and grand justiciary. He had shown his bravery and attachment to Richard in the wars of Palestine, and now he displayed admirable talent and conduct as a peaceful minister. He deserved better times and a more prudent master. He had been educated under the great Ranulf de Glanville, and was versed in the science of the English laws. Under his administration the justices made their regular circuits; a general tranquillity was restored; and men, gradually recovering from the late oppressions and vexations, began to be re-animated with the spirit of order and industry. The absence of the king might have been felt as a real benefit to the nation, had it not been for his constant demands for money to carry on his wars abroad, and complete the payment of his ransom, which demands frequently obliged the minister to act contrary to the conviction of his better judgment and his conscience. Hubert, however, seems to have raised more money with less actual violence and injustice than any of his predecessors. Longchamp was employed in some important embassies, and continued to hold the office of chancellor till his death, which happened about a year before that of his master.

Towards the end of the preceding year death had delivered Richard from a part of his anxieties. Fearing that the brutal Leopold would take the lives of the hostages placed in his hands, the English king fulfilled one of his agreements, by sending the Princess of Cyprus and his niece, "the Maid of Brittany," into Germany. Before the ladies reached Vienna they received news of the duke's death. As he was tilting on St. Stephen's day, his horse fell upon him, and crushed his foot; a mortification ensued; and, when his physicians told him he must die, he was seized with dread and remorse; and, to obviate some of the effects of the excommunication under which he still lay, he ordered that the English hostages should be set free, and that the money he had extorted should be returned to Richard.* When war

* It does not appear what part, or whether any, of the

broke out again in France—which it did before the term of the truce had expired—it was carried on in a desultory manner, and a strange treaty of peace was proposed, by which Richard was to give "the Maid of Brittany," who had returned to him on learning the Duke of Austria's death, in marriage to the son of the French king. Peace was, however, concluded at the end of the year without this marriage.

Great discontents had long prevailed in London, on account of the unequal assessment of the taxes; the poor, it was alleged, were made to pay out of all proportion with the rich. The people found an advocate and champion in William Fitz-Osbert, commonly called "Longbeard"—a man of great activity and energy, "somewhat learned and very eloquent," who, in his first proceedings seems to have been perfectly in the right. He went over to the continent to lay his complaints before the king; and as he admitted that the war which called for so much money was perfectly just, and even necessary; and as he contended for nothing more than that the rich should not throw all the burden of the supplies upon the poor, Richard received him without anger, and promised that the matter should be properly examined. It appears, however, that nothing was done. Longbeard then (A.D. 1196) had recourse to secret political associations—an expedient always dangerous, but particularly so with an unenlightened people. Fifty-two thousand persons are said to have sworn implicit obedience to the orders of their "advocate," the "saviour of the poor," whose somewhat obscure and mystical harangues * delivered every day at St. Paul's Cross, filled the wealthier citizens with alarm.

It is pretty clear that Fitz-Osbert now became a dangerous demagogue, but the particular accusation brought

money was restored. It is asserted that Richard's ransom was spent in beautifying and fortifying Vienna.

* It appears that Fitz-Osbert, or Longbeard took a text from Scripture, and gave to his political discourses the form and character of sermons. He wore his beard that he might look like a true Saxon.

against him is curious: he was charged with inflaming the poor and middling people with *the love of liberty and happiness*. He was cited to appear before a great council of prelates and nobles;—he went, but escorted by so many of the inferior classes, who proclaimed him "the *king* of the poor," that it was not considered safe to proceed against him. The agents of government then endeavoured to gain over a part of the mob, and succeeded by a cunning alternation of promises and threats. The Archbishop of Canterbury and the other justiciaries met the poorest citizens on several occasions, and at last induced them to give up many of their children as hostages for their peaceable behaviour. Longbeard, however, was still so formidable that they durst not arrest him openly. One Geoffrey, and another wealthy citizen whose name is not recorded, undertook to seize him by surprise: they watched all his motions for several days, being always followed by a body of armed men ready to act at their signal. At length they caught him as he was walking quietly along with only nine adherents. They approached him as if they had no business with him, but when sufficiently near they laid hands on him, and the armed men, who were concealed close at hand, ran up to secure him. Longbeard drew his knife, stabbed Geoffrey to the heart, and then with his comrades fought his way to the church of St. Mary of Arches. He barricaded the church tower, and there made a desperate resistance. On the fourth day fire was set to the tower, and the besieged were driven forth by the flames. They were all taken and bound, and, while they were binding Longbeard, the son of that Geoffrey whom he had slain plunged his long knife into his bowels. He fell, but was not so fortunate as to die there. Wounded and bleeding as he was, they tied him to the tail of a horse, and so dragged him to the Tower, where he was presented to the archbishop-regent, who presently sentenced him to the gallows. From the Tower they dragged him at the horse's tail to "the Elms" in West Smithfield, and there hanged him on a high gibbet, and his nine companions along with him.

The mob, who had done nothing to rescue him while living, honoured him as a saint and martyr when dead. They stole away the gibbet on which he was hanged, and distributed it in precious morsels for relics; they preserved the very dust on which he had trod; and by degrees not only the people in the neighbourhood of London, but the peasantry from distant parts of the kingdom, made pilgrimages to Smithfield, believing that miracles were wrought on the spot where the "king of the poor" had breathed his last. The archbishop sent troops to disperse these rustic enthusiasts; but driven away by day, they re-assembled in the darkness of night; and it was not until a permanent guard was established on the spot, and many men and women had been scourged and thrown into prison, that the pilgrimages were stopped, and the popular enthusiasm and ferment abated.* Not many months after these events England was afflicted with a dreadful scarcity, and the famine was accompanied or followed by the plague, a frequent visitor, but which, on this particular occasion, committed unusual havoc. The monasteries alone were exempted.

A.D. 1197.—A war, contemptible in its results, but savagely cruel, again broke out between Richard and Philip, and ended when their barons were tired of it, or when they, the kings, had no more money to purchase the services of Brabanters and other mercenaries. Even had the vengeance of Richard been less implacable, and the ambition of Philip to establish his supremacy in France, at the cost of the Plantagenets, a less fixed and ruling passion, there were other causes which would have sufficed for the disturbance of peace. In Brittany the rule or paramount authority of the English king was most unpopular, and the same was the case in Aquitaine, where Bertrand de Born, who had so often intrigued with Richard against his father Henry, was now intriguing with the French king against Richard.

The most memorable incident of this campaign was the

* Newb.—Hoved.—Gervase.—Knighton.—Matt. Par.

capture of the Bishop of Beauvais, a near connexion to the French king, and one of the most bitter of Richard's enemies. He was taken, fighting in complete armour, by Marchadee, the leader of the Brabanters in Richard's service. The king ordered him to be loaded with irons, and cast into a dungeon in Rouen Castle. Two of his chaplains waited on Richard to implore for milder treatment. "You yourselves shall judge whether I am not justified," said Richard. "This man has done me many wrongs. Much I could forget, but not this. When in the hands of the emperor, and when, in consideration of my royal character, they were beginning to treat me more gently and with some marks of respect, your master arrived, and I soon experienced the effect of his visit: over-night he spoke with the emperor, and the next morning a chain was put upon me such as a horse could hardly bear. What he now merits at my hands declare yourselves, and be just." The chaplains were silent, and withdrew. The bishop then addressed the pope, imploring him to intercede. Celestine rated him severely on his flagrant departure from the canons of the church; and told him that though he might ask mercy as a friend, he could not interfere in such a case as pope. Soon after this the pontiff wrote to Richard, imploring him to pity "his son," the bishop. Richard replied to the pope by sending him the Bishop of Beauvais' coat of mail, which was besmeared with blood, and had the following scroll attached to it,—an apposite quotation from the Old Testament,—"This have we found: know now whether it be thy son's coat or no." Though, as usual, sorely in want of money, Richard refused ten thousand marks which were offered as a ransom, and the Bishop of Beauvais occupied his dungeon and wore his chains till Richard went to the grave.*

In the month of September of this same year disease, misfortune, remorse, and a premature decay did the English king justice on another of his foes. The Emperor Henry died at Messina, after suffering an extremity

* Hoved.—Brompt.—Matt. Parr.—Newbrig.

of humiliation at the hands of his Sicilian wife; and in his dying moments he confessed his shameful injustice to Richard, and ordered that the money he had extorted as his ransom should be restored. Though a bishop was charged with a message to Richard, and though the clause was solemnly inserted in the emperor's will, the money was never repaid.

As the war in France again waxed languid, and the powerful vassals of both potentates showed again that they were actuated by other motives and interests than those of their masters, the two kings again spoke of peace, and meeting at Andely, on the Seine, finally "concluded upon an abstinence of war, to endure from the Feast of St. Hilary for one whole year."

A.D. 1198.—When the truce expired, hostilities were again renewed, and with greater ferocity than ever. Near Gisors, Richard gained another victory, and Philip in his flight was nearly drowned in the river Epte, a bridge he had to cross breaking down under the weight of the fugitives. In his triumphant bulletin, Richard said, "This day I have made the King of France drink deep of the waters of the Epte!" As for himself, he had unhorsed three knights at a single charge, and made them prisoners. It was *Cœur de Lion's* last fight. A truce was concluded, and early in the following year, through the mediation of Peter of Capua, the pope's legate, it was prolonged and solemnly declared to be binding for five years. A fresh ground of quarrel arose almost immediately after, but the differences were made up, and, marching from Normandy, Richard repaired to Aquitaine to look after his intriguing and ever-turbulent vassals in that quarter.

A strange ballad had for some time been current in Normandy. Its burden purported, that in the Limousin the arrow was making by which the tyrant would die. The learned writer* who has collected all the discrepancies and contradictions respecting the circumstances by which Richard's death was attended, will not venture to

* Sir Francis Palgrave, Introduct. Rot. Cur. Reg.

decide whether these shadows cast before the event arose out of the wishes of the people or indicated any organized conspiracy. We are inclined to believe ourselves that there was no conspiracy beyond the old, dark brooding, the settled hatred and vindictive spirit of his vassals of the south. Those fiery men, it will be remembered, had attempted the life of his father Henry more than once by shooting arrows at him. There are many contradictions which throw doubt upon parts of the commonly received story of the death of Richard, but all accounts agree in stating that the heroic Lion-heart fell before an obscure castle, and in consequence of a wound received either from an arrow or a quarrel. The usual narrative, which has almost a prescriptive right to insertion, is to this effect:—Arriving from Normandy in the south, Richard learned that Vidomar, Viscount of Limoges, his vassal, had found a treasure in his domains. This, as superior lord, he demanded; and when the viscount offered only half of it, and refused to give more, Richard, determined to have the whole, besieged him in his castle of Chaluz. The want of provisions reduced the garrison to the greatest straits, and they offered to surrender at the king's mercy, their lives only being spared. Richard refused the terms, telling them he would take the place by storm, and hang every man of them upon the battlements. The garrison of the castle were driven to despair. The king, with Marchadee, the leader of his mercenaries, then surveyed the walls to see where the assault should be made, when a youth, by name Bertrand de Gurdun, having recognised him from the ramparts, praying God to speed it well, discharged an arrow, and hit the king in the left shoulder. Soon after the castle was taken by assault, and all the men in it were butchered, with the exception of Bertrand. The wound was not in itself dangerous, but it was made mortal by the unskilfulness of the surgeon in extracting the arrow-head, which had been broken off in the shoulder. Feeling his end approach, Richard summoned Bertrand de Gurdun into his presence. "Wretch!" he exclaimed, "what have I done unto thee that thou shouldest seek my life?" The chained

youth replied firmly,—"My father and my two brothers hast thou slain with thine own hand, and myself thou wouldest hang! Let me die now, in cruel torture if thou wilt; I am content if thou diest, and the world be freed of an oppressor!" "Youth, I forgive thee!" cried Richard: "loose his chains, and give him a hundred shillings!" But Marchadee* would not let him go, and after the king's death he flayed him alive, and hanged him. Richard expired in anguish and contrition, on Tuesday, the 6th of April, 1199, a date in which all the contemporary writers of best note seem to be agreed. He had reigned nearly ten years, not one of which was passed in England, but which had all been wasted in incessant wars, or in preparations for war. He was only forty-two years old, and he left no children to succeed him. By his will he directed that his heart should be carried to his faithful city of Rouen for interment in the cathedral, that his bowels, "as his ignoble parts," should be left among the rebellious Poictevins, and that his body should be buried at the feet of his father at Fontevraud.

* Here there is a varying account. The MS. chronicle of Winchester says that Marchadee surrendered the prisoner to Richard's sister Joan, and that *she* plucked out his eyes, and caused him to suffer other horrible mutilations and tortures, under which he expired.

JOHN.—SURNAMED SANS-TERRE, OR LACKLAND.*

A.D. 1199.—Earl John was in Normandy when his brother died. As soon as he received the intelligence, he sent to retain the foreign mercenaries who had been in Richard's pay, promising them large gifts and increased salaries. Dispatching Hubert Walter, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and William Mareschal into England, to overawe the barons there, he himself hastened to Chinon to seize his brother's treasure, which was deposited in that castle. Chinon, with several other castles in the neighbourhood, voluntarily received him; but, in the meanwhile, the barons of Touraine, Maine, Anjou, and Brittany, proclaimed his nephew, the young Arthur, as their lawful sovereign. John proceeded to chastise the citizens of Mans for the support they afforded his nephew; then, returning to Normandy, he was received at Rouen without opposition, and, on Sunday the 25th of April, he was there inaugurated, being girt with the sword of the duchy, and having the golden coronal put upon his head. News, whether good or bad, travelled but slowly in those days. A vague report of Richard's death was spread in England, but nothing certain was known, and the friends of John seem purposely to have concealed the fact for many days. When the Archbishop of Canterbury and his companion arrived, they required all the lieges in the cities and burghs throughout the kingdom, and all the earls, barons, and freeholders, to be in the fealty, and keep the peace, of John Duke of Normandy, son of King Henry, son of the Empress

* A nickname, according to Brompton, given him by his father, who in a will which he made at Domfront in 1170 left John no lands, but only recommended him to be provided for by his eldest brother.

Matilda.* But John had never been popular in the nation, and the more powerful classes seemed disposed to resist his accession. Bishops, earls, and barons,—most of those who had castles,—filled them with armed men and stocked them with provisions. The poorer classes committed great devastations, for in those times a king's death was the signal for the general disorganization of society. The primate and his associate acted with great alacrity and vigour, seeing that nothing less would save the country from a frightful anarchy. They convened a great council at Northampton, and there, by secret gifts and open promises of justice and good government on the part of John, they induced the assembled prelates and barons to swear fealty and faithful service to the "Duke of Normandy," as the pretender was carefully called, until his coronation at Westminster.

John did not arrive until the 25th of May, when he landed at Shoreham. On the 27th he repaired to the church of St. Peter at Westminster, to claim the crown. He well knew that many preferred the right of his nephew, the son of an elder brother, who had repeatedly been declared his heir by the late king; and now John professed to be in possession of a will, drawn up in his last hours, by which Richard revoked former wills, and appointed him his successor. But this testament, whether true or false, seems to have carried no weight with it, and to have been altogether disregarded on this solemn occasion. The fact that the crown was not considered heritable property was stated in the broadest terms, and never was the elective character of the monarchy so forcibly put by such high authority. The Archbishop Hubert, having announced to the audience that the Duke of Normandy had been elected king at Northampton, laid it down as a known principle that no one could be entitled by any previous circumstances to succeed to the crown unless he were chosen to be king by the body of the nation,—"ab universitate regni electus." According to Matthew Paris, John assented

* Hoved.—Matt. Par.—Palgrave, Rot. Cur. Reg.

without starting the question either of his inherent right by birth, or of his right by will; and when he had taken the usual oaths to protect the church and govern justly, all persons hailed him with "Long live the king!"*

John was at this time thirty-two years old,—a manly age,—which gave him many advantages over kings commencing their reigns in youth. He was robust, healthy, and, like most of his race, handsome; but his evil passions distorted his countenance, and gave him a treacherous and cruel expression. He was already hated by the people, and his reign opened inauspiciously. Many of the nobles in England immediately showed disaffection: the King of Scotland, William the Lion, who had quarrelled with him on account of the provinces of Northumberland and Cumberland, threatened him with invasion; and on the Continent, with the exception of those in Normandy, all the great vassals were up in arms for his nephew, and in close alliance with the French king, who had renewed the war, and was promising himself every success, well knowing the difference between the warlike Richard and the cowardly John, as also the weakness that must arise out of a disputed succession, for the election at London and the inauguration at Rouen had no legal effect in those provinces which had declared for Arthur.† Leaving William de Stuteville to keep in check the Scots, John crossed over to Normandy, where the Earl of Flanders and other great lords who had confederated with Richard brought in their forces. Philip demanded and obtained a truce for six weeks, at the end of which term he met John to propose a definitive peace. His demands led to an instant renewal of war, for he not

* The claims of young Arthur do not appear to have been mentioned. It was, however, only by stretching a point, and declaring the crown elective, that the boy could be set aside. If they had gone on legitimacy and the rights of primogeniture, they must have awarded the crown to him,—and this sufficiently accounts for the mode of proceeding adopted by John and his partizans.

† Daru, Hist. de la Bretagne.—Matt. Par.—Hoved.

only required the surrender by the English king of all his French possessions (Normandy excepted) to Arthur, but the cession also of a considerable part of Normandy itself to the French crown.

The only being engaged in this game of ambition that can at all interest the feelings was the innocent Arthur, who was too young and helpless to play his own part in it. The greatest of our poets has thrown all the intensity both of pathos and horror around the last days of this prince; but all the days of his brief life were marked with touching vicissitudes. Like William of Normandy, the hapless son of Duke Robert, Arthur was the child of sorrow from his cradle upwards. His misfortunes, indeed, began before he came into the world; his father Geoffrey was killed in a tournament eight months prior to his birth, and Brittany, to which he had an hereditary right through his mother, was divided into factions, fierce yet changeable, destructive of present prosperity and unproductive of future good; for the national independence, their main object, was an empty dream in the neighbourhood of such powerful and ambitious monarchs as the Plantagenets of England and the Capetians of France. The people of Brittany, however, hailed the birth of the posthumous child of Geoffrey with transports of patriotic joy. In spite of his grandfather Henry, who wished to give the child his own name, they insisted on giving him the name of Arthur. That mysterious hero was as dear to the people of Brittany as to their kindred of our own island: tradition painted him as the companion in arms of their "King Hoel the Great;" and though he had been dead some centuries, they still expected his coming as the restorer of their old independence. Merlin had predicted this, and Merlin was still revered as a prophet in Brittany as well as in Wales. Popular credulity thus attached ideas of national glory to the cherished name of Arthur; and, as the child was handsome and promising, the Bretons looked forward to the day when he should rule them without the control of French or English.* His mother

* Daru, Hist. de la Bretagne.

Constance, a vain and weak woman, could spare little time from her amours and intrigues to devote to her son, and, at the moment when his uncle John threatened him with destruction, she was occupied by her passion for a third husband, whom she had recently married, her second husband being still living. During the lifetime of Richard, she had bandied her son between that sovereign and the French king as circumstances and her caprice varied; and now, when awakened to a sense of his danger, the only course she could pursue was to carry him to Paris, and place him under the protection of the astute and selfish Philip, to whom she offered the direct vassalage not only of Brittany, which Arthur was to inherit through her, but also of Normandy, Anjou, Aquitaine, and the other states he claimed as heir to his father. The troops of John, composed almost entirely of mercenaries, fell with savage fury upon Brittany, burning and destroying the houses and fields, and selling the inhabitants as slaves. Philip assisted William Desroches, the commander of the small Breton army, and took several castles on the frontiers of Brittany and France from the English. But as soon as he gained these fortresses he destroyed them, in order evidently to leave the road open to himself when he should throw off the mask and invade the country on his own account. Desroches, incensed at these proceedings, withdrew Arthur and his mother from the French court, and they would both have sought his peace, and delivered themselves up to John, had they not been scared away by the report that he intended the murder of his nephew. After this, young Arthur returned to Philip, who knighted him, notwithstanding his tender age, and promised to give him his daughter Mary in marriage. But Philip only intended to make a tool of the unfortunate boy; and when some troublesome disputes, in which he was engaged with the pope, induced him to treat with John, he sacrificed all his interests without any remorse. By the treaty of peace which was concluded between the two kings, in the spring of 1200, John was to remain in possession of *all* the states his brother Richard had occupied; and thus Arthur was completely

disinherited, with the connivance and participation of the French king; for it is said, that by a secret article of the treaty, Philip was to inherit his continental dominions, if John died without children. Circumstances and the unruly passions of John soon nullified the whole of this treaty.

In the summer of this same year, John made a progress into Aquitaine, to receive the homage of the barons. He delighted the lively people of the south with his magnificence and parade; he captivated some of the volatile and factious nobles with a display of a familiar and festive humour; but these feelings were but momentary; for neither with the people nor their chiefs could he keep up the favourable impression he had made. Though a skilful actor, his capability was confined to a single scene or two; it could never extend itself over a whole act: his passions, which seem to have partaken of insanity, were sure to baffle his hypocrisy on anything like a lengthened intercourse. He had thus shown his true character, and disgusted many of the nobles of Poictou and Aquitaine, when his lawless passion for the young wife of one of them completed their irritation and disgust. Isabella, the daughter of the Count of Angoulême, was one of the most celebrated beauties of her time: she had been recently married to the Count of la Marche, a powerful noble; and John had been married ten years to Avisa, a daughter of the Earl of Gloucester, a fair and virtuous woman, who had brought him an immense dower. In spite of these obstacles, John got possession of the person of Isabella, and married her at Angoulême, the Archbishop of Bordeaux performing the ceremony. In the autumn, he brought his new wife to England, and caused her to be crowned at Westminster. He himself was recrowned at the same time, the Archbishop of Canterbury officiating. He then gave himself up to idleness and luxurious enjoyment. But in the following spring he was disturbed by the vengeance of the Count of la Marche, whom he had robbed of his wife. That nobleman, with his brother, the Earl of Eu, and several other barons, took up arms in Poictou and Aquitaine. When summoned to attend

their liege lord, many of the English vassals refused, declaring that it was too insignificant and dishonourable a warfare for them to embark in. They afterwards said that they would sail with him if he would restore their rights and liberties. For the present, John so far triumphed over their opposition as to make the refractory barons give him hostages, and pay scutage in lieu of their personal attendance. Their resistance was not yet organised; but as John's insolence, rapacity, and lawless lust had provoked lay and clergy, and as he had engaged in a personal quarrel with one of the most powerful of the monastic orders, a regular and an extensive opposition was in due process of formation. John, accompanied by Isabella, went through Normandy to Paris, where he was courteously entertained by Philip, a much greater master in deceit, who was, at the very moment, in league with the Count of la Marche, in Aquitaine, and preparing a fresh insurrection against his guest in Brittany. From Paris, John marched without his wife into Aquitaine, but not to fight, and, after a paltry parade through the safe part of the country, he marched back again to his pleasures, leaving the insurgents in greater power and confidence than ever.

A.D. 1202.—The moment had now arrived for the decision of the question at issue—whether the Plantagenets or the Capetians should be lords of France. The superiority of the former race had been established by the wisdom of Henry II., and pretty well maintained by the valour of Richard; but under the unwise and pusillanimous John it had no longer a chance. Having settled his disputes with the pope, and freed himself from other troubles, Philip now broke the peace, by openly succouring the insurgents in Aquitaine, and by reviving and again espousing the claims of young Arthur. The poor orphan—his mother had died the preceding year—was living under the protection of the French king, because, says a chronicler, he was in constant fear of treachery on the part of John. "You know your rights," said Philip to the youth; "and would you not be a king?" "That truly would I," replied Arthur. "Here, then," said

Philip, "are 200 knights; march with them, and take possession of the provinces which are yours, while I make an inroad on Normandy." In the treaty drawn up between these most unequal allies, Arthur was made to agree that the French king should keep all that he pleased of the territories in Normandy which he had taken, or might henceforth take, with God's aid; and he agreed to do homage for the rest of the continental dominions.* Arthur then raised his banner of war; the Bretons sent him 500 knights and 4000 foot soldiers; the barons of Touraine and Poictou 110 men-at-arms; and this, with the insignificant contingent supplied by Philip, was all the force at his disposal. The young orphan—for, even now, Arthur was only in his fifteenth year—was of course devoid of all military experience, and dependent on the guidance of others. Some of his friends—or they may have been his concealed enemies—advised him, as his first trial in arms, to march against the town of Mirebeau, about six miles from Poictiers, because his grandmother, Eleanor, who had always been the bitter enemy of his mother, was residing there; and because (it was reasoned) if he got possession of her person, he would be enabled to bring his uncle to terms. He marched, and took the town, but not his grandmother. The veteran Amazon, though surprised, had time to throw herself into a strong tower, which served as a citadel. Arthur and his small army established themselves in the town, and laid siege to the tower where the "Ate"—the stirrer "to blood and strife," stoutly defended herself. John, with an activity of which he was not deemed capable, marched to her rescue; and his troops were before Mirebeau, and had invested that town, ere his nephew was aware of his departure from Normandy. On the night between the 31st of July and the 1st of August the savage John, by means of treachery, got possession of the town. Arthur was taken in his bed, as were also most of the nobles who had followed him on that dismal expedition. The Count of la Marche, Isabella's husband, on whom he had

* Daru.—Guil. Armoric.—Matt. Par.

inflicted the most insupportable of wrongs, and whom John considered as his bitterest enemy, the Viscounts of Limoges, Lusignan, and Thouars, were among the distinguished captives, who amounted in all to 200 noble knights. The captor revelled in base vengeance; he caused them to be loaded with irons, tied in open carts, drawn by bullocks, and afterwards to be thrown into dungeons in Normandy and England. Of those whose confinement fell in our island, twenty-two noblemen are said to have been starved to death in Corfe Castle.* Young Arthur was carried to Falaise, and from Falaise he was removed to the castle of Rouen, where all positive traces of him are lost. Such damnable deeds are not done in the light of day, or in the presence of witnesses, and some obscurity and mystery must always rest upon their horrors. The version of Shakspere has made an impression which no time and no scepticism will ever efface; and, after all, it is probably not far from being the true one. Of the contemporary writers who mention the disappearance of Arthur, Matthew Paris is the one who expresses himself in the most measured terms; yet his words convey a fearful meaning. He says, John went to his nephew at Falaise, and besought him with gentleness to trust his uncle. Arthur replied indignantly, "Give me mine inheritance—restore to me my kingdom of England." Much provoked, John immediately sent him to Rouen, with orders that he should be more closely guarded. "Not long after," proceeds Matthew Paris, "he suddenly disappeared; I trust not in the way that malignant rumour alleges." It was suspected by all that John murdered his nephew with his own hand, and he became the object of the blackest hatred. The monks of Margan tell us, in their brief yearly notes, "that John being at Rouen in the week before Easter, 1203, after he had finished his dinner, instigated by drunkenness and malignant fiends, literally imbrued his hands in the blood of his defenceless nephew, and caused his body to be thrown into the Seine, with heavy stones fastened to

* Rigord. Gest. Phil. Aug.—Matt. Par.—Guil. Armoric.

his feet; that the body was notwithstanding cast on shore, and buried at the abbey of Bec secretly, for fear of the tyrant."

According to the popular traditions of the Bretons, John, pretending to be reconciled with his nephew, took Arthur from his dungeon, in the castle of Rouen, and proceeded with him towards Cherbourg, travelling on horseback, and keeping near the coast. Late one evening, when the king and his nephew had outridden the rest of the party, John stopped on a high cliff which overhung the sea: after looking down the precipice he drew his sword, and, riding suddenly at the young prince, ran him through the body. Arthur fell to the ground and begged for mercy, but the murderer dragged him to the brink of the precipice, and hurled him, yet breathing, into the waves below.*

But Ralph, the abbot of Coggeshall, who tells the pitiable tale most minutely, is probably the most correct of all. His account is as follows:—Some of the king's councillors, representing how many slaughters and seditions the Bretons were committing for their lord Arthur, and maintaining that they would never be quiet so long as that prince lived in a sound state, suggested that he should deprive the noble youth of his eyes, and so render him incapable of government. Some wretches were sent to his prison at Falaise to execute this detestable deed: they found Arthur loaded with chains, and were so moved with his tears and prayers that they staid their bloody hands. The compassion of his guards, and the probity of Hubert de Burgh,—the kind Hubert of Shakspere,—saved him for this time. Hubert, who was warden of the castle, took upon him to suspend the cruelties till the king should be further consulted. This merciful appeal only produced his removal from Falaise to Rouen. On the 3d of April, in the year of mercy 1203, the helpless orphan was startled from his sleep and invited to descend to the foot of the tower, which was washed by the peaceful waters of the Seine. At the

* Argentré, Hist. de Bretagne.—Dumoulin, Hist. de Normandie.

portal he found a boat, and in it his uncle, attended by Peter de Maulac, his esquire. The lonely spot, the dark hour, and the darker countenance of his uncle, told the youth his hour was come. Making a vain and last appeal, he threw himself on his knees and begged that his life at least might be spared. But John gave the sign, and Arthur was murdered. Some say that Peter de Maulac shrunk from the deed, and that John seized his nephew by the hair, stabbed him with his own hands, and threw his body into the river. Hemingford and Knyghton, who wrote near the time, say that the squire was the executioner, and this statement is confirmed by the circumstance which they mention, and which is otherwise established, of John having bestowed on De Maulac the heiress of the barony of Mulgref in marriage, as the reward of his iniquity. In the essential parts of the crime nearly all writers agree.

The rumour of the murder, which was certainly spread in the month of April of this year, excited a universal cry of horror and indignation. The Bretons, among whom the young prince had been born and brought up, were the loudest of all: their rage amounted to an absolute frenzy; and even when cooler moments came they unanimously swore to revenge their prince's death. The Maid of Brittany,—the fair and unfortunate Eleanor, Arthur's eldest sister,—was in John's hands, and closely confined in a monastery or prison at Bristol, where she consumed forty years of her life; but the enthusiastic people rallied round Alice, an infant half-sister of the prince, and appointed her father, Guy de Thouars, the last husband of their duchess Constance, their regent and general of their confederacy. At a meeting of the estates of the province, held at Vannes, it was determined that Guy, with a deputation, should forthwith carry their complaints before the French king, "their suzerain lord," and demand justice.* He listened to their petition, and summoned John to a trial before his peers, as a vassal of the French crown. The process was in the regular order of feudal justice. But the

* Daru.

accused monarch did not appear; on which, with the concurrence of the barons, this sentence was pronounced on him:—"That John, Duke of Normandy, unmindful of his oath to Philip, his lord, had murdered his elder brother's son, a homager to the crown of France, within the seignory of that realm; whereon he is judged a traitor; and, as an enemy to the crown of France, to forfeit all his dominions which he held by homage; and that re-entry be made by force of arms."

Philip, who had been obliged to retreat from Normandy after the capture of Prince Arthur, and the barons at Mirebeau in the preceding year, was now on the frontier of Poictou, where a general insurrection took place, and most of the nobles joined him against the murderer John. They surrendered to Philip most of the strong places, and then marched with him to Normandy. Here the enraged Bretons were before him, having invaded and occupied all the territory near their own frontiers; they took the strong castle of Mount St. Michael by assault, made themselves masters of Avranches, and then advancing burnt all the towns between that city and Caen. These movements facilitated the progress of the French king, who, being joined by John's subjects of Anjou and Maine, advanced by Anderly, Evreux, Domfront, and Lisieux, all of which places he took, and then effected his junction with the army of the Bretons at Caen. While tower and town thus fell before the invaders, John was passing his time in a voluptuous indolence at Rouen, surrounded by women and effeminate courtiers. He wished to remain ignorant of the loss of his towns, the miseries of his people, his own shame; and, when obliged to listen to some dismal news, he was accustomed to say, in the fulness of his infatuation, "Let them go on; let these French and this rabble of Bretons go on; I will recover in a single day all that they are taking from me with so much pains." At last his enemies appeared at Radepont, in the neighbourhood of Rouen, and then (in the month of December) he fled over to England to demand succour.*

* Matt. Par.—Annal. de Margan.

We are not sufficiently acquainted with the history of the noble families of the time, and the transmission or division of their estates; but it appears that the Norman barons of England had no longer that property at stake in Normandy which on all former occasions had made them resolute to prevent the separation of the two countries. There were no doubt other causes for their apathy; but, in spite of John's demerits, we cannot but believe that they would have made great exertions if they had been in the same position as formerly, when the same barons held great estates in Normandy as well as in England. Now they would make no strenuous effort; and we find John complaining on this occasion, as a little later, when his other continental provinces were occupied by the French king, that his English nobles had forsaken him.

A.D. 1204.—Unable to meet Philip with the sword, John attempted to stop his progress with the spiritual weapons of Rome: he applied to the pope, imploring him to interfere. Innocent despatched two legates to plead in the recreant's favour; but, in the high tide of his success, the French king, made the bolder by the universal odium John had fallen into, turned a deaf ear to their representations and menaces, and the legates departed without producing any apparent effect.

When John fled nothing remained to him save Rouen, Verneuil, and Château-Gaillard. The last was a strong castle, the pride of the late king, who took extraordinary pains in its construction, and it was held for John by a brave warrior who was true to his trust. In Rouen, the people, animated by a hereditary hatred of the French, determined to defend themselves; but when, pressed by a vigorous siege, they applied for aid to their sovereign, the King of England, John had no aid to give. It was in vain he punished his lukewarm barons of England by fines and forfeitures,—it was in vain that he collected a considerable army at Portsmouth,—the nobles resolutely told him that they would not follow his standard out of England. Thus abandoned to themselves, and suffering from famine, the citizens of Rouen surrendered to the French king. Verneuil was taken about the same time,

and Château-Gaillard fell after nobly sustaining a siege of seven months. Thus, John had no longer an inch of ground in Normandy, which duchy, after a separation of two hundred and ninety-two years, was finally re-annexed to the French kingdom. Within this year Brittany, Anjou, Maine, Touraine, and Poictou, equally acknowledged the authority of Philip, and John had nothing left in those wide provinces except a few castles. Aquitaine, or Guienne, retained its connexion with the English crown, but there the authority of the king was limited and uncertain.

A.D. 1206.—Philip soon found that it was much easier to incite the people against the detested John than to keep them obedient to himself. The men of Brittany, who indulged in their old dream of national independence, were soon disgusted by seeing their country treated as a mere province of France; and discontents also broke out in Anjou and Poictou. John contrived to land an English army at Rochelle, and even to take the strong castle of Montauban: then marching to the Loire, he took and burned Angers, committing many cruelties. He then reposed on his laurels, and gave himself up to feasting and debauchery. When again roused, he descended the Loire, and laid siege to Nantes. This siege he raised, to offer battle to Philip. As the battle was about to commence he proposed a negotiation, and as the proposal was under discussion he ran away to England loaded with new infamy. Philip, who had nothing more to do, as it was not convenient for him to attack Guienne, and an invasion of England was as yet a thing not to be contemplated, listened to another legate from the pope, who induced him to consent to a truce with John for two years.

A.D. 1207.—The next step of John was to quarrel with the pope, and provoke to the utmost — and by deeds which gave an odious colouring to his cause, even where he was wholly or partially in the right—the enduring enmity of that power which had shaken the throne of his great and wise father. The dispute arose out of the conflicting claims of the crown and the church in the appointment of bishops; while John insisted that

his favourite minister, John de Gray, Bishop of Norwich, should be elevated to the see of Canterbury, the pope *canonically* appointed Stephen Langton,—and the monks of Canterbury would receive no other Archbishop. Never was time, never was place so ill chosen for an attack on the church; but John, blinded by passion, despatched two knights with an armed band to drive the monks of Canterbury from the land. The ministers of his vengeance entered with drawn swords into the cloisters which had alike witnessed the slaughter of Becket and the subsequent humiliation of his sovereign. "In the king's name," exclaimed the knights, "we command you, as traitors, to quit the realm; begone in a moment, or we will set fire to these walls, and burn you with your convent." All the monks who were not bed-ridden departed forthwith, and going into Flanders, were there received and hospitably entertained in different religious houses. John seized their effects: but as no one would labour upon them for the king, the lands of the archbishopric and of the convent of Canterbury lay without culture.* When Innocent in a gentle but most decided tone asked for redress, John braved his authority; and thus an open struggle began between one of the ablest priests that ever wore the tiara, and the meanest and basest king that ever disgraced the English throne. While John amused himself with terrible but impotent threats against the monks, the pope wrote to the already disaffected English barons, ordering them to do all they could with the arms of the flesh to save their king and kingdom from perdition; and he called upon the prelates and abbots of the kingdom to fight with their spiritual weapons for Langton and the liberties of the church. He then sent orders to the Bishops of London, Ely, and Worcester to wait upon the king in his name, and, if they found him still refractory, to threaten him with the interdict. John at last received these prelates: when they came to the threat he grew pale with rage, and his lips quivered and frothed. "By God's teeth,"

* Matt. Par.—Annal. de Marg.

he cried, "if you, or any of your body, dare to lay my states under interdict, I will send you and all your clergy to Rome, and confiscate your property. As for the Roman shavelings, if I find any in my dominions, I will tear out their eyes and cut off their noses, and so send them to the pope, that the nations may witness their infamy." The bishops trembled and withdrew: but these were not times when personal fear stopped the triumphant march of Rome. A few weeks after, on Monday, the 23rd of March, 1208, in Passion week, they pronounced the sentence of interdict against all John's dominions, and then fled for safety to the continent. To secure himself at this moment of danger, the king obliged as many of his nobles as he could to place their children in his hands as securities for their allegiance; a measure which created fresh disgust.

In the mean time the nation was plunged in mourning by the interdict,—the churches were instantly closed,—the priests ceased their functions, refusing to administer any of their usual sacred rites, except baptism to infants, and the sacrament to the dying. The dead were buried, without prayers, in unconsecrated ground,—the relics of the saints were taken from their places and laid upon ashes in the silent church,—their statues and pictures were covered with veils of black cloth,—the chime of church bells no longer floated on the air, and everything was so arranged under an interdict as to give a most lugubrious aspect to the whole country upon which it had fallen. When this had lasted a year, the pope followed up the sentence of interdict by a bull of excommunication against John. Although by narrowly watching the ports, he prevented the entrance of the Roman envoy and the official publication of the latter bull, the king was seriously alarmed, for he knew that excommunication would be followed by a sentence of dethronement, and that Philip was making ready to invade England with a banner that would be blessed by the pope. He also saw that the disaffection of his barons was still increasing; and that there was no part of Christian Europe to which he could apply for succour or alliance. At

this critical moment, if we are to believe a curious story picturesquely told by Matthew Paris, he applied for aid to the Mahommedans of Spain.

A.D. 1210.—John employed the spring of this year in raising money by the most arbitrary means: all classes suffered, but none like the unfortunate Jews, who were seized, imprisoned, and tortured all over the kingdom. A great sum is said to have been collected, and with this he levied an army, pretending that he would go and drive Philip out of Normandy. When all was ready, he sailed for Ireland, where the English nobles had for some time defied his authority. On the 6th of June he landed on the Irish coast and proceeded to Dublin, where more than twenty of the native chieftains repaired to do him homage and offer tribute. He then marched into the province of Connaught, reduced the castles of some of the revolted English nobles, and drove Hugh de Lacy, Earl of Ulster, and his brother Walter de Lacy, Earl of Meath, out of the island. He divided such parts of the island as were subjected to England into counties, established English laws, and appointed sheriffs and other officers. He also ordered, for the convenience of traffic, that the same moneys should be equally current in both countries; and then, intrusting the government of Ireland to his favourite the Bishop of Norwich, whom he had not been able to make Archbishop of Canterbury, he returned to England after an absence of twelve weeks. In the following year he determined to show his prowess in Wales. Money was again wanted: he summoned all the abbots and lady-abbesses,—all the heads of monastic houses, whether male or female, to meet him in London; he urged his wants in a manner which was not to be resisted, and, having got what he could from these servants and handmaidens of Christ, he again racked the unbelieving Jews, putting them to torture and throwing them into dungeons, where they were kept until they paid enormous fines to the king. With the sums obtained John raised a mighty army, and penetrated into Wales, as far as the foot of Snowdon. He was not a man to do more than his great and warlike predecessors, and he

marched back again immediately, having, however, forced the Welsh to pay him a tribute in cattle and horses, and to give him twenty-eight hostages, youths of the best families. Whenever John had a glimpse of success, he increased his arbitrary proceedings against his English subjects: on a former occasion he gave new rigour to the barbarous forest laws, and now he levied scutage-money in an unjust manner. In the following year the Welsh again were up in arms to assert their independence. John savagely hanged the twenty-eight hostages, and was preparing for a fresh invasion when he was terrified by a report that many of his own barons were conspiring against him. He shut himself up in the castle of Nottingham for fifteen days, seeing no one but the personal attendants on whom he most relied. He then marched to Chester, still collecting troops, and vowing to exterminate the Welsh; but from Chester he turned suddenly back to London, where he kept strong bodies of foreign mercenaries constantly about him, and seldom showed himself to his people. His enemies increased every day, and the crowd of English exiles were incessantly urging the pope to take vengeance on their king.

A.D. 1213.—At last Innocent hurled his deadliest thunderbolt at the head of John: he pronounced his deposition, absolved his vassals from their oaths of allegiance, and called upon all Christian princes and barons to take part in the meritorious act of dethroning an impious tyrant. He then sent Stephen Langton, the exiled Archbishop of Canterbury, with other English and some Italian prelates, to the French court, there to convoke a solemn meeting, and declare to the king and the whole nation that the pope authorized an immediate invasion of England. The worldly temptation was so great, that Philip probably required none other; but the pope promised him *the remission of his sins* if he executed this pious purpose, and drove John from his throne. About the middle of March, Philip collected a great army in Normandy, and prepared a fleet of 1700 vessels of all sizes at Boulogne and the other ports on the Channel. John, being well informed of these preparations, took for

once a bold step: he summoned every man capable of bearing arms to be ready to march to the coasts of Kent and Sussex, and he collected every vessel in his dominions capable of carrying six or more horses. When the ships were ready, he anticipated Philip's attack: the English mariners crossed the Channel, took a French squadron at the mouth of the Seine, destroyed the ships in the harbour of Fecamp, and burned Dieppe to the ground. They swept the whole coast of Normandy, and returned in triumph, the main division of the French fleet at Boulogne not hazarding an attack. On Barham Downs 60,000 landsmen stood as yet firm around the standard of John; but he dreaded these his own brave subjects, and he was always spiritless and unmanly. It was soon seen, after all his vain boasting, and his threats against the church of Rome, that he would lower himself to the dirt before that incensed enemy,—that he would do anything rather than fight. The pope's legate, Pandulph, well knew his dastardly character, and now skilfully took advantage of it. Two knights of the Temple (travelled men and crafty diplomatists) landed at Dover and proceeded to the English camp. "We come," said they, with great respect, "from Pandulph, the subdeacon and servant of our lord the pope: for your advantage and for that of the realm of England, he asks to see you in private."—"Let him come forthwith," said John. Pandulph came, and drew so formidable a picture of the French army of invasion, and represented the general and just disaffection of the great barons of England in such forcible, and, on the whole, true colours, that the paltry despot's heart died away within him. What added to his fears was the prediction of a certain Peter, called "the Hermit," that before the Feast of the Ascension should be passed (it was distant only three days) King John would be unkinged. As he trembled before the astute churchman, Pandulph bade him repent, and remember that the pontiff was a merciful master, who would require nothing which was not absolutely necessary either to the honour of the church or to the security of the king himself. After a little wavering John gave way, and sub-

scribed an instrument which, in itself, was not *very* objectionable, and which had been offered him some time before, when, by accepting it, he might have avoided his present excessive debasement. It was agreed, on the 13th of May, that John should obey the pope in all things for which he had been excommunicated,—that he should receive into favour the exiled bishops and others, particulary Stephen Langton and the prior and monks of Canterbury,—that he should make full satisfaction to the clergy and laity for the damages they had suffered at his hands, or otherwise, on account of the interdict, and that he should pay down, in part of restitution, the sum of 8000*l*. John further agreed not to prosecute any person for any matter relating to the late disagreement; and, on his part, Pandulph promised that, on the performance of those conditions, the sentences of interdict should be recalled, and that the bishops and other proscribed churchmen, on their return, should swear to be true and faithful to the king. John set his seal to the instrument, and four of his greatest barons, William, Earl of Salisbury, Reginald, Earl of Boulogne, and the Earls of Warenne and Ferrers, swore, "on the soul of the king," that he would keep this compact inviolate. The dastardly spirit of John, the over-reaching policy and ambition of the pope, and the address of the envoy Pandulph, can alone account for the consummation of ignominy which followed. On the 14th of May, the following day, John was closeted with the Italian in secret consultation, and when seen for a moment abroad, his countenance was sadly dejected. Though depraved in morals and notoriously irreligious, he was a prey to superstition, and he was now thinking more of the prediction of a hare-brained recluse than of his kingdom, for he fancied that Peter the Hermit's prophecy betokened he must die.

On the 15th of May, at an early hour of the morning, John repaired to the church of the Templars at Dover, and there, surrounded by bishops, barons, and knights, took on his knees, before Pandulph, an oath of fealty to the pope,—the same oath which vassals took to their lords. At the same time he put into the envoy's hands

a charter, testifying that he, the King of England and Lord of Ireland, in atonement for his offences against God and the church, not compelled by the interdict or by any fear or force, but of his own free will and with the general consent of his barons, surrendered to our lord the Pope Innocent, and Innocent's successors for ever, the kingdom of England and the lordship of Ireland, which were henceforth to be held as fiefs of the holy see, John and his successors paying for them an annual tribute of 700 marks of silver for England and 300 marks for Ireland. He then offered some money as an earnest of his subjection, but Pandulph trampled it under his feet,—an act which called forth an angry remonstrance from the Bishop or Archbishop of Dublin. The next day was the fatal term, the Feast of the Ascension, during which John watched the progress of the sun with an anxious eye: it set and he died not,—it rose on the morrow, and he was still alive: instantly, in punishment for the vile terror he had suffered, he ordered Peter and his son to be dragged at the tails of horses and hanged on gibbets. The people contended that Peter, after all, was no false prophet, and that John, by laying his crown at the feet of a foreign priest, had verified the prediction.*

Five or six days after these transactions, Pandulph went over to France, and, to the astonishment and great wrath of Philip, announced to him that he must no longer molest a penitent son and a faithful vassal of the church, nor presume to invade a kingdom which was now part of the patrimony of St. Peter. "But," said Philip, "I have already expended enormous sums of money on this expedition, which I undertook at the pontiff's express commands, *and for the remission of my sins.*" The nuncio repeated his inhibition and withdrew. The French king, however, who was already on the road, continued his march to the coast. It appears, indeed, that Philip, who inveighed publicly against the selfish

* Matt. Par.—Matthew Westminster, or Florilegus.—W. Heming. — Chron. Mailros.—Annal. Waver. — Chron. T Wykes.

and treacherous policy of the pope, would not have been prevented from attempting the invasion by the dread of the thunders of the church which again rumbled over his head.* But other circumstances of a more worldly nature interfered: Ferrand, the new Earl of Flanders, demanded that certain towns which had lately been annexed to the French crown should be restored to him. Philip refused; and now when he proposed to his great vassals that they should continue the enterprise against England, the Earl of Flanders, the most powerful of them all, said that his conscience would not permit him to follow his lord in such an unjust attempt; and so saying, he suddenly withdrew with all his forces. Philip, vowing he would make Flanders a mere province of France, marched after him, and, taking several of the Earl's best towns on his way, sat down with his army before the strong city of Ghent. Fortunately for both parties, Ferrand had already a secret understanding with John, and now he applied to that king for help. John's fleet lay ready in the harbour of Portsmouth. Seven hundred knights, with a large force of infantry, embarked in 500 vessels, under the command of William Earl of Holland, and William Longspear, Earl of Salisbury, one of the sons of Fair Rosamond, and immediately made sail for the coast of Flanders. They found the French fleet at anchor at Damme, which was at that time the port of Bruges: it was three times more numerous than the English fleet; but most of the sailors and land-troops embarked with them were on shore plundering the neighbouring country, and committing all sorts of ravages in a district which, through the blessings of peace and commerce, had made a wonderfully rapid progress in civilization and the arts that adorn life. This was the first fleet that the French kings of the Capetian line had ever put to sea,—this was the first naval engagement between the two nations whose enmity has since then

* Philip had been excommunicated, and his kingdom had been laid under an interdict, a few years before, by the reigning pope, Innocent III.

animated so many sanguinary encounters in all quarters of the globe. It was an unfortunate beginning for the French: their navy was annihilated. The French king thus lost the means of supporting his army in Flanders or of transporting it to the English coast: half famished and overcome with vexation, he hurried across his own frontiers, leaving Earl Ferrand to recover with ease all that he had lost.

This first great naval victory transported the English people with joy; but with joy was mingled a malicious confidence and presumption in the heart of John, who now betrayed a determination to break the best part of his recent oaths. Being determined to carry the war into France, he summoned his vassals to meet him at Portsmouth. The barons went armed and appointed, as if ready to sail; but, when ordered to embark, they resolutely refused unless the king recalled the exiles, as he had promised to do. After some tergiversation John granted a reluctant consent, and Archbishop Langton, the Bishops of London, Ely, Hereford, Lincoln, and Bath, the monks of Canterbury, all with their companions and numerous dependants returned. John and the archbishop met and kissed each other at Winchester; and there, in the porch of the cathedral church, Langton gave full absolution to the king, who again swore to govern justly, and maintain his fealty to the pope. It was, however, clear to all men that Langton placed no confidence in the king; and that the king, who considered him as the chief cause of all his troubles, regarded Langton with all the deadly hatred which his dark character was capable of. John now set sail with a few ships, but his barons were in no hurry to follow him, being far more eager to secure their own liberties than to recover the king's dominions on the continent. They said that the time of their feudal service was expired, and they withdrew to a great council at St. Albans, where Fitz-Peter, one of the king's justiciaries, presided, and where they published resolves, in the form of royal proclamations, ordering the observance of old laws, and denouncing the punishment of death against the sheriffs foresters, or

other officers of the king who should exceed their proper and legal authority.

John got as far as the island of Jersey, when, finding that none followed him, he turned back with vows of vengeance. He landed, and marched with a band of mercenaries to the north, where the barons were most contumacious. Burning and destroying, he advanced as far as Northampton. Here Langton overtook him. "These barbarous measures," said the prelate, "are in violation of your oaths; your vassals must stand to the judgment of their peers, and not be wantonly harassed by arms." "Mind you your church," roared the furious king, "and leave me to govern the state." He continued his march to Nottingham, where Langton, who was not a man to be intimidated, again presented himself, and threatened to excommunicate all the ministers and officers that followed him in his lawless course. John then gave way, and, to save appearances, summoned the barons to meet him or his justices. Langton hastened to London, and there, at a second meeting of the barons, he read the liberal charter which Henry the First had granted on his accession; and, after inducing them to embrace its provisions, he made them swear to be true to each other, and to conquer or to die in support of their liberties. This was on the 25th of August. On the 29th of September a new legate from the pope, Cardinal Nicholas, arrived in England to settle the indemnity due to the exiles, and to take off the interdict. John renewed his oath of fealty to Innocent, knelt in homage before the legate, paid fifteen thousand marks, and promised forty thousand more to the bishops. The interdict was removed; and from this moment the court of Rome changed sides, and, abandoning the cause of liberty and the barons, stood for the king. This abandonment, however, did not discourage the nobles, nor did it even detach Archbishop Langton from the cause for which they had confederated.

A.D. 1214.—A formidable league was now formed against the French king, and John was enabled to join it with some vigour. Ferrand Earl of Flanders, Reynaud

Earl of Boulogne, and Otho the new Emperor of Germany, nephew to John, determined to invade France and divide that kingdom among them, giving the English king all the country beyond the Loire for his share. Ferrand was to have Paris with all the Isle of France, Reynaud the country of Vermandois, and the emperor all the rest. John sent some English forces under the command of his half-brother, the Earl of Salisbury, to Valenciennes, where the confederates established their head-quarters, and then sailed himself to the coast of Poictou, where several of his former vassals joined him, and enabled him to advance to Angers. This diversion was well planned: it obliged Philip to divide his forces, and while he himself marched towards the frontiers of Flanders, he sent his son Louis into Brittany, whither the English king now advanced. John was kept in check, or lost his opportunity through cowardice and indolence, while his allies were thoroughly defeated at the battle of Bouvines,—one of the most memorable battles of the middle ages, in which the emperor was completely ruined, and the Earl of Flanders, the Earl of Boulogne, and the Earl of Salisbury were taken prisoners, with an immense number of inferior lords and knights. Salisbury, the gallant Longsword, was captured by the Bishop of Beauvais, the very individual whom King Richard had loaded with chains, and upon whose coat of mail that king had been so facetious. This prelate, however, had become more prudent or more circumspect,—he no longer wielded the sword, but fought with a heavy club, thus knocking people on the head without shedding blood, which was contrary to the canons of the church. He was not the only prelate in this fierce *mêlée*. Philip was chiefly indebted for his success to Guérin, bishop-elect of Senlis, who also had some scruples of conscience, for he would not use a sword, but marshalled the French host and directed the slaughter with a wand. This battle was fought on the 27th of July, near an obscure village called Bouvines, between Lisle and Tournay. On the 19th of October following John begged a truce, and obtained one for five years, on condition of abandoning all

the towns and castles he had taken on the continent. He arrived in England on the 20th of October. As if he would take vengeance on his English subjects for the reverses and shame he had suffered, he again let loose his foreign mercenaries on the land, and began to violate all his most solemn promises. Fitz-Peter, his justiciary, the only one of his ministers that could moderate his fury, had now been dead some months. John, who feared him, rejoiced at his death. "It is well," cried he, laughing as they told him the news; "in hell he may again shake hands with Hubert, our late primate, for surely he will find him there. By God's teeth, now for the first time I am king and lord of England."* But there were men at work resolute and skilful. Immediately after his arrival the barons met to talk of the league they had formed with Langton. "The time," they said, "is favourable; the feast of St. Edmund approaches; amidst the multitudes that resort to his shrine we may assemble without suspicion." On the 20th of November, the saint's day, they met in crowds at St. Edmund's-bury, where they finally determined to demand their rights, in a body, in the royal court at the festival of Christmas. The spirit of freedom was awakened, not soon to sleep again: they advanced one by one, according to seniority, to the high altar, and, laying their hands on it, they solemnly swore that, if the king refused the rights they claimed, they would withdraw their fealty and make war upon him, till, by a charter under his own seal, he should confirm their just petitions. They then parted to meet again at the Feast of the Nativity. When that solemn but festive season arrived John found himself at Worcester, and almost alone, for none of his great vassals came as usual to congratulate him, and the countenances of his own attendants seemed gloomy and unquiet. He suddenly departed, and riding to London, there shut himself up in the strong house of the Knights Templars. The barons followed close on the coward's steps, and on the Feast of the Epiphany (at every move they chose some day consecrated by religion) they pre-

* Matt. Par.

sented themselves in such force that he was obliged to admit them to an audience. At first he attempted to browbeat the nobles. One bishop and two barons were recreants, and consented to recede from their claims, and never trouble him again, but all the rest were firm to their purpose. John turned pale, and trembled. He then changed his tone, and cajoled instead of threatening. "Your petition," he said, "contains matter weighty and arduous. You must grant me time till Easter, that, with due deliberation, I may be able to do justice to myself and satisfy the dignity of my crown." Many of the barons, knowing the use he would make of it, would not have granted this delay, but the majority consented, on condition that Cardinal Langton, the Bishop of Ely, and William Earl of Pembroke, should be the king's sureties that he would give them the satisfaction they demanded on the appointed day. The confederated nobles then retired to their homes. They were no sooner gone than John adopted measures which he fondly hoped would frustrate all their plans, and bring them bound hand and feet within the verge of his revenge. He began by courting the church, and formally renounced the important prerogative that had been hitherto so zealously contended for by himself and his great ancestors, touching the election of bishops and abbots. Having thus, as he thought, bound the clergy to his service, he turned his attention to the body of the people, whose progress had been slow, but pretty steady, and whose importance was now immense. He ordered his sheriffs to assemble all the free men of their several counties, and tender to them a new oath of allegiance. His next step was to send an agent to Rome, to appeal to the pope against what he termed the treasonable violence of his vassals. The barons, too, despatched an envoy to the eternal city; but it was soon made more than ever evident that Innocent would support the king through right and wrong. He wrote a startling letter to Cardinal Langton; but that extraordinary priest was deaf to the voice of his spiritual chief where the interests of his country were concerned. To make himself still surer, John took the

cross on the 2nd of February, solemnly swearing that he would lead an army to the Holy Land. This taking of the cross, by which the debtor was exempted from the pursuit of his creditor,—by which the persons, goods, and estates of the crusaders were placed under the immediate protection of the church till their return from Palestine,—seemed to John the best of all defences.

On the appointed day in Easter week the barons met at Stamford with great military pomp, being followed by two thousand knights, and a host of retainers. The king was at Oxford. The barons marched to Brackley, within a few miles of that city, where they were met by a deputation from the sovereign, composed of Cardinal Langton, the Earl of Pembroke, and the Earl of Warenne. The confederates delivered the schedule containing the chief articles of their petition. "These are our claims," they said, "and, if they are not instantly granted, our arms shall do us justice." When the deputies returned, and Langton expounded the contents of the parchment he held in his hand, John exclaimed, in a fury, "And why do they not demand my crown also? By God's teeth, I will not grant them liberties which will make me a slave." He then made some evasive offers which the barons understood, and rejected. Pandulph, who was with the king, now contended that the cardinal-primate ought to excommunicate the confederates; but Langton said he knew the pope's real intentions had not been signified, and that unless the king dismissed the foreign mercenaries, whom he had brought into the kingdom for its ruin, he would presently excommunicate them.

The barons now proclaimed themselves "the army of God and of holy church," and unanimously elected Robert Fitz-Walter to be their general. They then marched against the castle of Northampton, but they had no battering engines; the walls were lofty and strong; the garrison, composed of foreigners, stood out for the king; and their first warlike attempt proved a failure. After fifteen days they gave up the siege, and marched to Bedford with anxious minds. On whichever side the

free burghers of England threw their substantial weight, that party must prevail, and, as yet, no declaration had been made in favour of the confederates. But now anxiety vanished,—the people of Bedford threw open their gates; and soon after messengers arrived from the capital with secret advice that the principal citizens of London were devoted to their cause, and would receive them with joy. Losing no time, they marched to Ware, and, not stopping to rest for the night, pursued their course to London, which they reached in the morning. It was the 24th of May, and a Sunday: the gates were open,—the people hearing mass in their churches,—when the army of God entered the city in excellent order and profound silence. On the following day the barons issued proclamations requiring all such earls, barons, and knights, as had hitherto remained neutral, to join them against the perjured John, unless they wished to be treated as enemies of their country. In all parts of the kingdom the lords and knights quitted their castles to join the national standard at London. It is needless, say the old chroniclers, to enumerate the barons who composed the army of God and of holy church: they were the whole nobility of England. The heart of John again turned to water: he saw himself almost entirely deserted, only seven knights remaining near his person. Recovering, however, from his first stupefaction, he resorted to his old arts; he assumed a cheerful countenance; said what his lieges had done was well done; and from Odiham, in Hampshire, where he was staying, he despatched the Earl of Pembroke to London, to assure the barons that, for the good of peace, and the exaltation of his reign, he was ready freely to grant all the rights and liberties; and only wished them to name a day and place of meeting. "Let the day," replied the barons, "be the 15th of June,—the place, Runny-mead."*

On the morning of the appointed day, the king moving from Windsor Castle, and the barons from the town of Staines, the parties met on the green meadow, close by

* Matt. Par.

the Thames, which the barons had named. With John came eight bishops, Pandulph, Almeric the Master of the English Templars, the Earl of Pembroke, and thirteen other gentlemen; but the majority of this party, though they attended him as friends and advisers, were known to be in their hearts favourable to the cause of the barons. On the other side stood Fitz-Walter and the whole nobility of England. With scarcely an attempt to modify any of its clauses, and with a facility that might justly have raised suspicion, the king signed the scroll presented to him. This was Magna Charta,—the GREAT CHARTER,—a most noble commencement and foundation for the future liberties of England.

As the profound duplicity and immorality of John were well known, the barons exacted securities. They required that he should disband and send out of the kingdom all his foreign officers, with their families and followers; that for the two ensuing months the barons should keep possession of the city, and Langton of the Tower of London; and that they should be allowed to choose twenty-five members from their own body to be guardians or conservators of the liberties of the kingdom, with power, in case of any breach of the charter,—such breach not being redressed immediately,—to make war on the king; to distrain and distress him by seizing his castles, lands, possessions, and in any other manner they could, till the grievance should be redressed; always, however, saving harmless the person of the said lord the king, the person of the queen, and the persons of their royal children.

As soon as the great assembly dispersed, and John found himself in Windsor Castle safe from the observing eyes of his subjects, he called a few foreign adventurers around him, and gave vent to rage and curses against the charter. According to the chroniclers his behaviour was that of a frantic madman; for, besides swearing, he gnashed his teeth, rolled his eyes, and gnawed sticks and straws. The creatures who would be ruined and expelled by the charter, roused him by appealing to his passion of revenge, and he forthwith despatched two of them to

the Continent to procure him the means of undoing all that he had been obliged to do. One of these adventurers went to Flanders, Poictou, Aquitaine, and Gascony, to hire other adventurers to come to England and fight against the barons; the other went to Rome, to implore the aid of Innocent. John then sent messengers to such governors of his castles as were foreigners or men devoted to him, commanding them to lay in provisions and put themselves in a state of defence. He caused the alarm himself, by instantly evading some of the clauses of the charter. On their departure from Runny-mead, the barons, in the joy of their hearts, appointed a great tournament to be held at Stamford on the 2nd of July. John, during their absence, formed a plot to surprise London, where the main strength of the party lay; but, being warned in time, the nobles put off the celebration of the tournament to a more distant day, and named a place for it nearer to London.

The king now withdrew to Winchester, where, alarmed at the whole course of his conduct, a deputation waited on him on the 27th of June. He laughed at their suspicions,—swore, with his usual volubility, that they were unfounded, and that he was ready to do all those things to which he was pledged. He issued a few writs required of him, and then withdrew still further to the Isle of Wight, where he would mix with no society save that of the fishermen of the place and the mariners of the neighbouring ports, whom he tried to captivate by adopting their manners. Here he remained about three weeks (not months, as stated by Matthew Paris); for it appears from public instruments, still extant, that he was at Oxford on the 21st of July, where he appointed a conference which he did not attend, posting away to Dover, where he staid during the whole of September, anxiously awaiting the arrival of his mercenary recruits from the Continent. When the barons learned that troops of Brabanters and others were stealing into the land in small parties, they despatched William d'Albiney, at the head of a chosen band, to take possession of the royal castle of Rochester. D'Albiney had scarcely entered the castle, which he found almost destitute of stores and engines of

defence, when John found himself sufficiently strong to venture from Dover. The un-English despot, followed by Poictevins, Gascons, Flemings, Brabanters, and others,—the outcasts and freebooters of Europe,—laid siege to Rochester Castle at the beginning of October. The barons, knowing the insufficient means of defence within the castle, marched from London to its relief, but they were obliged to retreat before the superior force of the foreigners, who, day after day, were joined by fresh adventurers from the other side of the Channel. Fortunately for England, one Hugh de Boves and a vast horde of marauders perished in a tempest on their way from Calais to Dover. John bewailed this loss like a maniac, but he pressed the siege of Rochester Castle, and still prevented the barons from relieving it. After a gallant resistance of eight weeks, when the outer walls were thrown down, an angle of the keep shattered, and the last mouthful of provisions consumed, d'Albiney surrendered. John ordered him to be hanged, with his whole garrison; but Savaric de Mauleon, the leader of one of the foreign bands, opposed this barbarous mandate, because he feared the English might retaliate on his own followers, if any should fall into their hands. The tyrant was, therefore, contented to butcher the inferior prisoners, while all the knights were sent to the castles of Corfe and Nottingham.

The loss of Rochester Castle was a serious blow to the cause of the barons, who were soon after excommunicated by the pope; for the king's application to Rome had met with full success, notwithstanding a counter-appeal made by the English nation. Innocent declared that the barons were worse than Saracens for molesting a vassal of the holy see—a religious king who had taken the cross. Thus emboldened, John marched from Kent to St. Albans, accompanied by a most mixed and savage host. It was thought at one time he would turn upon London, but the attitude of the capital struck him with terror; and, leaving a strong division to manœuvre round it, and devastate the south-eastern counties, he moved towards Nottingham, marking his progress with flames and blood.

Alexander, the young King of Scotland, had entered into an alliance with the English barons, and, having crossed the border, was investing the castle of Norham. The whole northern country, moreover, was especially obnoxious to John, and thither he determined to carry his vengeance. A few days after the feast of Christmas, when the ground was covered with deep snow, he marched from Nottingham into Yorkshire, still burning and slaying, and becoming more savage the farther he advanced and the less he was opposed. Every hamlet, every house on the road, felt the fury of his execrable host,—he himself giving the example, and setting fire with his own hands in the morning to the house in which he had rested the preceding night. His foreign soldiery put his native subjects to the torture to make them confess where they had concealed their money. All the castles and towns they could take were given to the flames; and the people of Yorkshire and Northumberland were reminded of the expedition of William the Conqueror. The Scottish king retired before a superior force, and John, vowing he would "unkennel the young fox," followed him as far as Edinburgh. Here, meeting with opposition, he paused, and then, never having any valour but when unopposed—he turned back to England, burning Haddington, Dunbar, and Berwick on his way. Near the borders, Morpeth, Mitford, Alnwick, Wark, and Roxburgh had been consumed already.

In the mean time the division left in the south committed equal atrocities, and, wherever the castle of a noble was taken, it was given, with the adjoining estate, to some hungry adventurer.

On the 16th of December another sentence of excommunication was promulgated by the Abbot of Abingdon and two other ecclesiastics: in this bull Robert Fitz-Walter, the general of the confederacy, and all the principal barons, were mentioned by name; and the city of London was laid under an interdict. This measure excited some fear and wavering in the country, but the citizens of London had the boldness to despise it. According to Matthew Paris, they asserted that the pontiff

had no right to interfere in worldly concerns; and, spite of the interdict, they kept open their churches, rang their bells, and celebrated their Christmas with unusual festivity.

But the barons, who were confined in London by the force that continually increased around them,—who saw their property the prey to new invaders,—and who knew the full extent of the danger to which the nation was exposed (the effect of the excommunication on the villeins in the country not being the least of these), were sorely disquieted, and knew not what measures to adopt. Many meetings were held, and a variety of plans debated; but at last they unanimously resolved, in a moment of desperation, upon the very equivocal and perilous expedient of calling in foreign aid. They sent to offer the crown to Philip's eldest son, Prince Louis, who was connected with the reigning family by his marriage with Blanche of Castile, John's own niece; believing that, should he land amongst them, the mercenaries now with John, who were chiefly subjects of France, would join his standard, or at least refuse to bear arms against him. Philip and Louis eagerly grasped at this offer; but the wary old king moderated the impatience of his son, and would not permit him to venture into England until twenty-four hostages, sons of the noblest of the English, were sent into France. Then a fleet, with a small army, was sent up the Thames: it arrived at London at the end of February, and the commander assured the barons that Louis himself would be there with a proper force by the Feast of Easter. Innocent, in the meanwhile, was not inactive in John's, or rather in his own, cause: he despatched a new legate to England; and Gualo, on his journey, reached France in time to witness and to endeavour to prevent the preparations making for invasion. He boldly asked both king and prince how they dared attack the patrimony of the church, and threatened them with instant excommunication. To the astonishment of the churchman, Louis advanced a claim to the English throne through right of his wife, and departed for Calais, where his army was collecting. At the appointed time he set sail from

Calais with a numerous and well-appointed army, embarked on board 680 vessels. His passage was stormy: the mariners of the Cinque Ports, who adhered to the English king, cut off and took some of his ships; but on the 30th of May he landed safely at Sandwich. John, who had come round to Dover with a numerous army, fled before the French landed, and, burning and ravaging the country, he went to Guildford, then to Winchester, and then to Bristol, where Gualo, the pope's legate, soon joined him. Leaving Dover Castle in his rear, Louis besieged and took the Castle of Rochester. He then marched to the capital, where, on the 2nd of June, A.D. 1216, he was joyfully received by the barons and citizens, who conducted him, with a magnificent procession, to St. Paul's. After he had offered up his prayers, the nobles and citizens did homage, and swore fealty to him. And then he, with his hand on the Gospels, also swore to restore to all orders their good laws, and to each individual the estates and property of which he had been robbed. Soon after, Louis published a manifesto, addressed to the King of Scotland and all the nobles not present in London. An immense effect was presently seen: nearly every one of the few nobles who had followed John now left him and repaired to London; all the men of the north, from Lincolnshire to the borders, rose up in arms against him; the Scottish king made ready to march to the south; and, at first in small troops, and then in masses, all the foreign mercenaries, with the exception of those of Gascony and Poictou, deserted the standard of the tyrant, and either returned to their homes or took service under Louis and the barons, who were now enabled to retake many of their castles. Gualo, the legate, did all he could to keep up the drooping, abject spirit of John; but at the very moment of crisis, on the 16th of July, the pope himself, the mighty Innocent, died, and left the church to be wholly occupied for some time by the election of a new pontiff.

Louis marched to Dover, and laid siege to the castle, which was most bravely defended for the king by Hubert

de Burgh; and at the same time some of the barons attacked Windsor Castle, which was equally well defended. When the siege of Dover Castle had lasted several weeks, Louis found himself obliged to convert it into a blockade. Withdrawing his army beyond reach of the arrows of the garrison, he swore that he would reduce the place by famine and then hang all its defenders. The barons raised the siege of Windsor Castle entirely, in order to repel John, who, after running from place to place, had at last made his appearance near them, and was pillaging the estates of some of those nobles. At their approach he fell back, and eluding their pursuit by skill, or, more probably, by hard running, he reached the town of Stamford. The barons wheeled round, and joined Louis at Dover, where much valuable time was lost in inactivity, for that prince would neither assault the castle nor move from it. Other circumstances at the same time caused discontent: Louis treated the English with disrespect, and began to make grants of estates and titles in England to his French followers. Several barons and knights withdrew from Dover, and though few would trust John, all began to doubt whether they had not committed a fatal mistake in calling in the aid of a foreign prince. As these doubts prevailed more and more, and as the gloom thickened round the camp at Dover, where Louis had now lost nearly three months, the cause of John brightened in proportion. Soon after eluding the pursuit of the barons, he had made himself master of Lincoln, where he established his head-quarters for some time, making, however, predatory incursions on all sides. Associations were formed in his favour in several of the maritime counties; and the English cruisers frequently captured the supplies from the Continent destined for Louis.

At the beginning of October, marching through Peterborough, he entered the district of Croyland, and plundered and burnt the farm-houses belonging to that celebrated abbey: he then proceeded to the town of Lynn, where he had a depôt of provisions and other stores. Here, turning his face again towards the north,

he marched to Wisbeach, and from Wisbeach he proceeded to a place called the Cross Keys, on the southern side of the Wash. It is not clear why he took that dangerous route, but he resolved to cross the Wash by the sands. At low water this estuary is passable; but it is subject to sudden rises of the tide. John and his army had nearly reached the opposite shore, called the Fossdike, when the returning tide began to roar. Pressing forward in haste and terror, they escaped: but, on looking back, John beheld the carriages and sumpter-horses which carried his money overtaken by the waters; the surge broke furiously over them, and they presently disappeared,—carriages, horses, treasures, and men being swallowed up in a whirlpool, caused by the impetuous ascent of the tide and the descending current of the river Welland. In a mournful silence, only broken by curses and useless complaints, John travelled on to the Cistercian abbey of Swineshead, where he rested for the night. Here he ate gluttonously of some peaches or pears, and drank new cider immoderately. The popular story of his being poisoned by a monk may be true or false: but it is told in two ways, and was never told at all by any writer living at the time or within half a century of it, and the excess already mentioned, acting upon an irritated mind and fevered body, seems to be cause enough for what followed. He passed the night sleepless, restless, and in horror. At an early hour on the following morning, the 15th of October, he mounted his horse to pursue his march, but he was soon compelled, by a burning fever and acute pain, to dismount. His attendants then brought up a horse-litter, in which they laid him, and so conveyed him to the castle of Sleaford. Here he rested for the night, which brought him no repose, but an increase of his disorder. The next day they carried him with great difficulty to the castle of Newark, on the Trent, and there he sent for a confessor, and laid himself down to die. The Abbot of Croxton, a religious house in the neighbourhood, who was equally skilled in medicine and divinity, attended him in his last hours, and witnessed his anguish and tardy repentance. He named his eldest son

Henry his successor, and dictated a letter to the recently elected pope, Honorius III., imploring the protection of the church for his young and helpless children. He made all the knights who were with him swear fealty to Henry; and he sent orders to the sheriffs of counties and the governors of castles to be faithful to the prince. Messengers arrived from some of the barons, who were disgusted with Louis, and proposed returning to their allegiance. This gleam of hope came too late,—the "tyrant fever" had destroyed the tyrant. The Abbot of Croxton asked him where he would have his body buried. John groaned, "I commit my soul to God, and my body to St. Wulstan!" and soon after he expired, on the 18th of October, in the forty-ninth year of his age, and the seventeenth of his wretched reign. They carried his body to Worcester, and interred it in the cathedral church there, of which St. Wulstan was the patron saint.*

* Matt. Par.—Matt. West.

CHAPTER II.

SCOTTISH ANNALS, &c.

DURING the whole of the period through which we have now passed, the three states of Albin, Pictland, and Strathclyde, which had formerly divided the northern part of the island, were consolidated into the single kingdom of Scotland, of which, however, the southern limits varied considerably at different times; for the proper Scotland lay all beyond the Forth and the Clyde; and the territory to the south of these rivers was not accounted as strictly forming part either of Scotland or England till some ages after the Norman Conquest. At the time of that event the Scottish king was Malcolm III., surnamed Caenmore, or Great Head, whose reign commenced in 1057.* His dominions undoubtedly included the ancient kingdom of Strathclyde, or the district now forming the south-western part of Scotland, which had been conquered by Kenneth III. in the latter part of the preceding century;† and the district of Cumbria, lying on the same side of the island, but within what is now called England, was also at this time an appanage of the Scottish crown. With regard to the south-eastern portion of modern Scotland, or the district then known by the name of Lodonia or Lothian (now confined to a part of it), the state of the case is not so clear. The people appear to have been chiefly or exclusively Angles, mixed in later times with Danes; and the territory undoubtedly at one period formed part of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Northumbria. From the defeat, however, of the Northumbrian king, Egfrid, by the Picts in 685,‡ it

* See ante, vol. ii. p. 19. † See ante, vol. ii. p. 13.
‡ See ante, vol. ii. p. 7.

may be considered as having been withdrawn from the actual dominion of its former masters, although perhaps their claim to its sovereignty was never abandoned, and it may have been for short periods wholly or partially re-subjected by the English.

The south-western angle of Scotland, formerly called Galloway, and now forming the counties of Wigton and Kirkcudbright, received various bodies of colonists from Ireland in the course of the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries.

Malcolm had passed about fifteen years at the court of the Confessor before he became king; and in his long exile he must have formed various English connexions, as well as become habituated to the manners of the sister country. He may therefore be supposed to have, from the first, kept up a more intimate intercourse with England than had been customary with his predecessors.

The principal events that make up the subsequent history of the reign of Malcolm arose out of his connexion with the unfortunate Edgar Atheling. Edgar fled to Scotland,* according to the most probable account, with his mother and his two sisters, in the beginning of 1068; and soon after, Malcolm espoused Edgar's elder sister Margaret. From some cause, which is not distinctly explained, Malcolm did not arrive with his forces in time to support the insurrection of the people of Northumbria,† in conjunction with the Danes and the friends of Edgar, in the following year: and it was not till after the complete suppression of that attempt, and the whole of the east coast, from the Humber to the Tyne, had been made a desert by the remorseless vengeance of the Norman, that the Scottish king, in 1070, entered England, through Cumberland, and spread nearly as great devastation in the western parts of York and Durham as William had done in the east. He commanded his soldiers to spare only the young men and women; and they were driven into Scotland to be made slaves.

* See ante, vol. ii. p. 67. † See ante, vol. ii. p. 70.

It was not till 1072 that William found leisure to chastise Malcolm for this inroad. He then advanced into Scotland, and wasted the country as far as the Tay, though the inhabitants, after the plan which they had been accustomed to pursue in such cases from the days of Galgacus, and which they continued to follow occasionally to a much later age, destroyed or removed everything of value as the invader advanced, so that, as the Saxon chronicler expresses it, "he nothing found of that which to him the better was." In the end, however, Malcolm came to him at Abernethy,* when, according to the Saxon Chronicle, a peace was arranged between the two kings, on Malcolm agreeing to give hostages, and to do homage to William as his liege lord. William then returned home with his army.

This transaction makes a principal figure in the controversy which was formerly carried on with so much unnecessary heat, and which still continues to divide historical inquirers, respecting the alleged dependence in ancient times of the kingdom of Scotland upon the English crown. The position taken by the asserters of this dependence appears to be that, from a date long before the Norman Conquest of England, the Anglo-Saxon kings of that country had in some way or other obtained possession of the sovereignty of the whole island, and the kings of Scotland, as well as the princes of Wales, had become their acknowledged vassals. We may say without hesitation that this notion is directly opposed to the whole course of the history of the two countries.

The only subjection or homage which either the Scottish kings rendered, or the English crown claimed

* This seems to be really the place meant by the "Abernithi" of Ingulphus, the "Abernithici" of Florence of Worcester, the "Abernitici" of R. de Diceto, and the "Abrenitici" of Walsingham, although Lord Hailes, Pinkerton, and other writers have contended that it was more probably some place on the river Nith. Mr. Allen conceives that no doubt can exist as to its being Abernethy on the Tay.—Vindication of the Ancient Independence of Scotland, &c. p. 47.

from them, before the Norman conquest, appears to have been not for the kingdom of Scotland, but for territories annexed to that kingdom or otherwise held by them, situated or conceived to be situated in England. Such was the lordship of Cumbria, or Cumbraland, after the donation of it by the English king Edmund to Malcolm I., in 946. Lothian, or a part of it,* may be considered to have been similarly circumstanced after the agreement between Kenneth IV. and Edgar, in 971. There is reason to believe, also, that the Scottish kings were anciently possessed of other lands clearly within the realm of England, besides the county of Cumberland. For these possessions of course they did homage to the English king, and acknowledged him as their liege lord, exactly in the same manner as the Norman kings of England acknowledged themselves the vassals of the crown of France for their possessions on the continent.

When Malcolm III., however, on the seizure of the English crown by the Duke of Normandy, espoused the cause of Edgar Atheling, he necessarily at the same time refused to do homage for his English lands to the Norman invader, whom by that very proceeding he declared that he did not acknowledge as the rightful king of England. William on the other hand took measures to maintain his authority and to compel the obedience of his rebellious vassal; and these objects he completely attained by the submission of Malcolm at Abernethy. The latter now consented to make that acknowledgment of William's title, and of his own vassalage for the lordship of Cumberland and his other English possessions, which he

* Lord Hailes has endeavoured to show that the district anciently called Lothian, and perhaps considered as part of England, by no means included the whole of the south-east of Scotland, but only the counties of Berwick and East Lothian, and the part of Mid Lothian lying to the east of Edinburgh. And he adds, "only a small part of that territory could be considered as feudally dependent on England. Great part of those territories was the patrimony of St. Cuthbert."—Remarks on the Hist. of Scotland (Edin. 1772), chap. 2.

had hitherto refused; he gave hostages to the English king, as the Saxon chronicler expresses it, and became his man.

After this Malcolm appears to have remained quiet for some years. He did not, however, finally abandon the cause of his brother-in-law, the Atheling; and in 1079, choosing his opportunity when the English king was engaged in war with his son Robert on the continent, he again took up arms and made another destructive inroad into Northumberland. The following year after the reconcilement of William and his son, the latter was sent at the head of an army against Scotland; but he soon returned without effecting anything. It was immediately after this expedition that the fortress bearing the name of the Castellum Novum, on the Tyne, which gave origin to the town of Newcastle, was erected as a protection against the invasions of the Scots.

When Rufus succeeded to the English throne the two countries appear to have been at peace. But in the summer of 1091 we find Malcolm again invading Northumberland. Rufus immediately made preparations to attack Scotland both by sea and land; and, although his ships were destroyed in a storm, he advanced to the north with his army before the close of the year. We have already related * the course and issue of this new war. After being suspended for a short time by a treaty made, according to the Saxon chronicle, "at Lothian in England," whither Malcolm came "out of Scotland," and awaited the approach of the enemy, it was renewed by the refusal of the Scottish king to do the English king right, that is, to afford him satisfaction about the matter in dispute between them, anywhere except at the usual place,—namely, on the frontiers, and in presence of the chief men of both kingdoms. William required that Malcolm should make his appearance before the English barons alone, assembled at Gloucester, and submit the case to their judgment. "It is obvious on feudal principles," as Mr. Allen observes, "that if Malcolm had

* See vol. ii. p. 122.

done homage for Scotland to the king of England, the Scotch nobles must have been rere-vassals of the latter, and could not have sat in court with the tenants in chief of the English crown." Yet it is evident that the nobility of both kingdoms had been wont on former occasions to meet and form one court for adjudication on such demands as that now made by the English king. The hostilities that followed, however, were fatal to Malcolm. He was slain in a sudden attack made upon him while besieging the castle of Alnwick, on the 13th of November, 1093.

The reign of Malcolm was one of the most memorable and important in the early history of Scotland. It was in his time, and in consequence, in great part, of his personal fortunes, that the first foundations of that intimate connexion were laid which afterwards enabled the country to draw so largely upon the superior civilization of England, and in that way eventually revolutionized the whole of its social condition. From the time of Malcolm Caenmore, Scotland ceased to be a Celtic kingdom. He himself spoke the language of his forefathers as well as Saxon; but it may be doubted if any of his children understood Gaelic, any more than their English mother. All his six sons, as well as his two daughters, received English names, apparently after their mother's relations. His marriage with the sister of Edgar Atheling exercised a powerful influence both over the personal conduct of Malcolm and over public affairs. There is still extant a Latin Life of Queen Margaret by her Confessor Turgot, which is on various accounts one of the most interesting records of those times. Margaret was very learned and eloquent, as well as pious, and she exercised her gifts not only in the instruction of her husband, but also in controversy with the Scottish clergy, whose various errors of doctrine and discipline she took great pains to reform. Her affections, however, were not all set upon the beauty of spiritual things. She encouraged merchants, we are told by Turgot, to come from various parts of the world, with many precious commodities which had never before been seen in that country, among which are especially mentioned vestments ornamented

with various colours, which when the people bought, adds the chronicler, and were induced by the persuasions of the queen to put on, they might almost be believed to have become new beings, so fine did they appear. She was also, to adopt the summary of the monk's account given by Lord Hailes, "magnificent in her own attire; she increased the number of attendants on the person of the king, augmented the parade of his public appearances, and caused him to be served at table in gold and silver plate. At least (says the honest historian) the dishes and vessels were gilt or silvered over."

Malcolm is traditionally said to have, with the advice of his nobility, made various important innovations in the Constitution of the kingdom, or the administration of public affairs. He appears to have restored the rule of law and order, which had been banished from the country by the civil wars that had preceded his accession; and it is probable that in the measures he adopted to accomplish this end, he imitated, as far as he could, the forms and usages of England. There is neither proof nor probability, however, for the statement which has been often repeated, that he introduced feudalism in a systematic form into Scotland. That state of things appears rather to have grown up gradually under the influence of various causes, and its complete establishment must be referred to a period considerably later than the reign of this king. The modern titles of earl and baron, however, are traced nearly to his time, and seem then, or very soon after, to have begun to supplant the older Celtic Marmor and Saxon Thane. Surnames also began to be used in this or the next reign. But on the whole, it was probably not so much by any new laws which were enacted by Malcolm Caenmore (the collection in Latin which has been attributed to him is admitted to be spurious), or by any new institutions which he established, that Scotland was in a manner transformed into a new country in his days, as by his English education and marriage, the English manners which were thus introduced at his court, and the numbers of English of all ranks whom the political events of the time drove to take

refuge in the northern kingdom. Much of the change, therefore, was really the effect of the Norman Conquest of England, which in nearly the same degree that it made Saxon England Norman, made Celtic Scotland Saxon.

The disastrous close of the reign of Malcolm, whose own death was followed in a few days by that of his excellent queen, worn out, it is said, by her vigils and fastings, and other pious exercises, afforded an opportunity to his brother Donald Bane (or the Fair) to seize the throne. Malcolm's eldest son, Edward, had fallen with his father at Alnwick; his second, Ethelred, was a churchman; but he left four other legitimate sons, although they were all as yet under age. Donald is said to have remained till now in the Western Islands, where he had taken refuge, on the death of his father Duncan, more than fifty years before.* He now invaded Scotland with a fleet fitted out in the Western Islands, and, with the aid of the faction which had all along been opposed to the English innovations of Malcolm, carried everything before him. The children of the late king were hastily conveyed to England by their uncle Edgar Atheling; and Donald, as soon as he mounted the throne, expelled all the foreigners that had taken refuge at his brother's court.

He had reigned only a few months, however, when another claimant of the crown appeared in the person of Duncan, according to the common account, an illegitimate

* It must be confessed that the great length of the interval—fifty-four years—between the dates assigned to the death of Duncan and that of Malcolm, throws some suspicion upon the common statement that the one was the son of the other. All that we know of the age of Malcolm is, that he was married about 1069 or 1070, that he reigned thirty-six or thirty-seven years, and that at his death, he left several children under age. As he fell in battle, however, it seems improbable that he was very old when he died. Pinkerton (who, by-the-by, places his accession on the authority of the Chronicle of Melrose, in 1056, not in 1057) strongly insists that he must have been, not the son, but the grandson of Duncan.—Inquiry, ii. 203, 204.

son of Malcolm Caenmore. He had been sent, it seems, by his father as a hostage to England; and by now offering to swear fealty to Rufus, he obtained his permission to raise a force for the invasion of Scotland. He succeeded in driving Donald from the throne and mounting it himself in May, 1094.

But after a reign of only about a year and a half, Duncan was, at the instigation of Donald Bane, assassinated by Malpedir, Earl of Mearns, and Donald again became king about the end of the year 1095. After his restoration, he proceeded in his former course of policy.

Affairs proceeded in this train for about two years; but at length, in 1097, Edgar Atheling raised an army, with the approbation of the English king, and marching with it into Scotland, after an obstinate contest, overcame Donald, in the beginning of the following year, and obtained the crown for his nephew Edgar, the son of Malcolm Caenmore. "Edgar, like Duncan," observes Mr. Allen, "appears to have held his kingdom in fealty to William. These two cases, and the extorted submission of William the Lion, during his captivity (to be presently mentioned), are the only instances I have found since the Conquest of any king of Scotland rendering fealty to England for his crown. Both occurrences took place after a disputed succession in Scotland, terminated by the arms and assistance of the English. Duncan was speedily punished for his sacrifice of the honour and dignity of the sceptre he unworthily held. Edgar appears to have repented of his weakness, and to have retracted before his death the disgraceful submission he had made in order to obtain his crown. One of his coins is said to bear the impress of 'Eadgarus Scottorum Basileus,' a title which, like Imperator, implied that the holder acknowledged no superior upon earth."

On his second deposition, Donald Bane was deprived of the power of giving further disturbance by being detained in prison and having his eyes put out. Edgar retained the throne till his death, on the 8th of January, 1107; and during his reign the country appears to have

enjoyed both internal tranquillity and freedom from foreign war. The accession of Henry I. to the throne of England, which took place in 1100, and his marriage the same year with Edgar's sister Maud, had the effect of maintaining peace between the two countries for a long course of years from this date. This favourable tendency of circumstances was not opposed by the disposition of Edgar, whom a contemporary chronicler describes as "a sweet-tempered, amiable man, in all things resembling Edward the Confessor; mild in his administration, equitable and beneficent."*

Edgar, dying without issue, was succeeded by his next brother, Alexander I. Alexander strengthened his connexion with the English king by a marriage with one of Henry's numerous illegitimate daughters, the Lady Sibilla, or, as she is called by other authorities, Elizabeth, whose mother was a sister of Walleran, Earl of Mellent. A dismemberment, however, of the Scottish kingdom, as it had existed for some reigns preceding, now took place, by the separation of Cumberland, which Edgar on his death-bed had bequeathed to his younger brother David. Alexander at first disputed the validity of this bequest; but the English barons taking the part of David, he found himself obliged to submit. By this arrangement, the King of Scotland would for the present (putting aside the doubtful case of Lothian) cease to be an English baron; and accordingly it appears that Alexander never attended at the English court. Nearly the whole history of his reign that has been preserved is made up of a long contest in which he was engaged with the English archbishops on the subject of their assumed authority over the Scottish church.

Alexander did not long survive the settlement of this affair. He had about two years before lost his queen, who had brought him no offspring; and his own death took place on the 27th of April, 1124. The quality for which this king is most celebrated by the old historians is his personal valour, of which various remarkable

* Aldred. Rival.

instances are related, although some contests with revolted portions of his own subjects, of which there are obscure notices, seem to have been the only opportunities he had of displaying military talent. But he sufficiently proved his intrepidity and firmness of character, in the manner in which he defended and maintained the independence of his kingdom, in the only point in which it was attacked in his time. In the stand which he made here, he appears to have had with him the great body of the national clergy, and they and he were always on the best terms.

David, Earl of Cumberland, the youngest of the sons of Malcolm Caenmore, now became king. Having lived from his childhood in England, his manners, says Malmsbury, were polished from the rust of Scottish barbarity. He had also, before he came to the throne, married an English wife, Matilda, or Maud, the daughter (and eventually heiress) of Waltheof, Earl of Northumberland, and the widow of Simon de St. Liz, Earl of Northampton. The King of Scotland was now again an English baron, by his tenure of the earldom of Cumberland; and accordingly, when Henry I., in 1127, called together the prelates and nobles of the realm, to swear that they would after his decease support the right of his daughter Matilda to the inheritance of the English crown, David was one of those that attended, and was the first who took the oath. In observance of this engagement, the Scottish king, on the usurpation of Stephen, led an army into England, and compelled the northern barons to swear fealty to Matilda. "What the King of Soots," said Stephen, when this news was brought to him, "has gained by stealth, I will manfully recover." He immediately collected a powerful force, and advanced at its head against David. They met at Newcastle; but no engagement took place: a compromise was effected (February, 1136), and David consented to withdraw his troops, on Stephen engaging to confer on his eldest son, Henry, the earldom of Huntingdon, with the towns of Carlisle and Doncaster, and promising to take into consideration his claims, in right of his mother, to the earl-

dom of Northumberland. Earl Henry did homage to Stephen for the new English honour he was thus to receive; but David himself still refused to do so, although he appears to have retained the earldom of Cumberland in his own hands.

The war was, however, renewed before the end of the same year by David, on the pretence that Stephen delayed to put his son in possession of the county of Northumberland, but, in reality, in consequence of a confederacy into which he had entered with the Earl of Gloucester and the other partizans of the Empress Matilda, who were now making preparations for a grand effort to drive her rival from the throne. With the same impetuosity he had shown on the former occasion, David was again first in the field. A truce, negotiated by Archbishop Thurstan of York, gained a short space for Stephen; but in 1137 David entered Northumberland, and ravaged that unfortunate district for some time, without mercy and without check. In the beginning of the following year, however, he deemed it advisable to fall back upon Roxburgh at the approach of Stephen, who followed him across the Tweed, and made requital by wasting the Scottish border for part of the injury his own subjects had sustained. But the English king was soon recalled by other enemies to the south, and then David (in March, 1138) re-entered Northumberland, sending forward at the same time William, a son of the late King Duncan, into the west, where he and his wild Galwegians (on the 9th of June) gave a signal discomfiture to a party of English at Clitherow. Meanwhile, Norham Castle, erected in the preceding reign by Bishop Flambard on the south bank of the Tweed, to guard the main access from Scotland, surrendered to the Scottish king after a short siege; and from this point he marched forward, through Northumberland and Durham, to Northallerton, in Yorkshire, without opposition. Here, however, his barbarous host was met by an English force, collected chiefly by the efforts of the aged Archbishop of York. At the great battle of the Standard, fought on the 22nd of August,*

* See vol. ii. p. 175.

the Scots sustained a complete defeat. The victors, however, were not in a condition to pursue their advantage. King David retired to Carlisle, and soon after laid siege to the castle of Werk, which having reduced, he razed it to the ground, and then, to adopt the expression of Lord Hailes, "returned into Scotland more like a conqueror, than like one whose army had been routed." The next year a treaty of peace was concluded between the two kings at Durham, by which David obtained the earldom of Northumberland, the ostensible object of the war, for his son, who enjoyed it till his death, and left it to his descendants.

David, however, was never cordially attached to the interests of Stephen. When a few years after this the cause of Matilda for a short time gained the ascendant, he repaired to the court of his niece, and endeavoured to persuade her to follow a course of moderation and policy, at which her imperious temper spurned. He was shut up with her in Winchester Castle, when she was besieged there by Stephen, in August and September, 1141,* and escaped thence along with her. It is said that he was indebted for his concealment afterwards, and his conveyance home to his own kingdom, to the exertions of a young man, named David Oliphant, to whom he had been godfather, and who chanced to be serving in the army of Stephen.

From this period the reign of David is scarcely marked by any events, if we except the disturbances occasioned by some piratical descents made upon the Scottish coasts by an adventurer of obscure birth, named Wimund, who gave himself out for a son of the Earl of Moray, but was at last, after giving considerable trouble, taken and deprived of his eyes, in 1151. In his latter years, however, David, relieved from foreign wars, applied himself assiduously to the internal improvement of his country, by the encouragement of agriculture, commerce, and manufactures, the establishment of towns, the erection of churches, monasteries, and other public buildings, and

* See vol. ii. p. 189.

the reform of the law and its administration. Many of the statutes enacted by him are still preserved.

When the son of the Empress Matilda, afterwards Henry II., came over from the continent, in 1149, to assert in person his claim to the English crown, he was met by the Scottish king at Carlisle,* and after receiving from him the honour of knighthood, bound himself, when he should become King of England, to make over to David the town of Newcastle, and the whole territory between the Tweed and the Tyne. David and his son, Henry, immediately invaded England, and advanced as far as Lancaster; but on the approach of Stephen, the Scottish army retired without risking a battle.

David did not live to witness the issue of the contest between Stephen and Henry. His death was probably hastened by that of his son, Henry, which took place on the 12th of June, 1152, to the great grief of his countrymen, whom his amiable character had filled with the anticipation of a continuation of the same prosperity and happiness under his rule which they enjoyed under that of his father. Soon after this stroke, David fixed his residence at Carlisle; and there he expired on the morning of the 24th of May, 1153, having been found dead in bed, with his hands joined together over his breast in the posture of devotional supplication. Both the virtues and the capacity of this king have been extolled in the highest terms by the monkish chroniclers; but he seems, on the whole, to have deserved the praises bestowed upon him. It is true that among the acts for which he is most eulogized, his donations to the church, and his founding of numerous religious houses, stand conspicuous—in allusion to which, his descendant, James I., is said to have feelingly complained of him as having been "a sore saint for the crown." But we may reasonably doubt whether it would have been for the advantage of the public interests that the funds thus expended should have remained in the possession of the crown; and it may also be questioned whether anything

* See vol. ii. p. 197.

more effective could have been done to promote the civilization of a country just emerging from barbarism, as Scotland was at this period, than the planting over all parts of it these establishments, which were not only seminaries of piety and letters, but examples of ornamental architecture, and even central fountain-heads for diffusing knowledge and the means of cultivating the civil and useful arts.

The late Earl Henry's eldest son, though as yet only in his twelfth year, succeeded his grandfather, under the name of Malcolm IV. The notices we have of the events of his reign in the contemporary chroniclers are scarcely sufficient to furnish a continuous or intelligible narrative; and in the lack of recorded facts the writers of later date appear to have filled up the story by drawing on their invention with even more than their usual liberality. With a king of such tender age, the government must have been for some years in the hands of a regency; but there is no account of any such arrangement. This was the first example of the Scottish throne having been occupied by a boy, and it may be regarded as having for the first time established the principle of hereditary succession as the rule of the monarchy in all circumstances. As might have been expected, however, the sceptre was not allowed to pass into the hands of so mere a pageant of a king without dispute. A few months only after Malcolm's accession, the public tranquillity was disturbed by what appears to have been more properly an invasion than an insurrection, being an attack made with the avowed object of effecting the conquest of the kingdom by Somerled, the Thane of Argyle, whose daughter had married the adventurer Wimund. The provinces, it may be observed, of Argyle, Moray, Ross, and Galloway, seem still to have remained so many principalities, usually indeed acknowledging a sort of feudal dependence upon the Scottish crown, but scarcely considered as forming parts of the kingdom of Scotland, any more than the vassal dukedoms and earldoms of the crown of France were held to be integral parts of that kingdom. They had each its own chief, and in all respects its own

government, with which that of the supreme sovereign rarely, if ever, interfered. In the present case the Thane of Argyle made war upon his sovereign just as any independent potentate might have made war upon another. All that we know of the events of the war is, that it lasted for some years; and then, in 1157, the king of Scotland appears to have made peace with the Thane of Argyle, just as he might have done with any other sovereign as independent as himself. To this date also is assigned Malcolm's first transaction with the English king. At an interview held at Chester he was induced not only to give up his claim to the territory to the north of the Tyne, promised to his father David, but also to abandon Cumberland, and whatever other lands and honours he possessed in England, with the exception only of the earldom of Huntingdon, which Henry either confirmed to him, or conferred upon him, taking it from his youngest brother David, to whom it appears to have been left by the late king. Malcolm at the same time is stated to have done homage to Henry in the same manner as his grandfather had to Henry's grandfather, that is to say, with the reservation of all his dignities. The accounts given of the whole of this affair by the old chroniclers are confused and obscure; but it is asserted by Fordun that Henry succeeded in effecting the agreement by bribing the advisers of the Scottish king, and taking advantage of his youth and inexperience, and that it produced a deep and settled hatred against Malcolm among all classes of his own subjects. Nor does his facility appear to have gained for him much gratitude or consideration from Henry. He repaired the following year to Carlisle to obtain the honour of knighthood from the English king; but this interview ended in a quarrel, and Malcolm returned home in disgust, and without his knighthood. When Henry, however, set forth on his expedition for the recovery of Toulouse, in 1159, Malcolm went with him to France, and was knighted by him there. But he had followed Henry's banner on this occasion in opposition to the judgment of the Scottish nobility, and after a few months a solemn deputation was

sent to him to urge his immediate return to his dominions. The people of Scotland, the deputies were commanded to tell him, would not have Henry to rule over them. Malcolm felt it necessary to obey this call; but the faction opposed to the connexion with England was not, it appears, to be satisfied with having succeeded in merely bringing him home. While he was holding a great council at Perth, Ferquhard, Earl of Strathearn, and five other noblemen, made an attempt to seize his person, and openly assaulted a tower in which he was lodged. The movement threatened to lead to a general insurrection, when an accommodation was brought about by the intervention of the clergy. Immediately after this, Malcolm applied himself to the reduction of those districts of his kingdom which, inhabited for the most part by races of foreign extraction, had never yet been completely brought under subjection to the general government, and in which revolts or disturbances were constantly breaking out. He found occupation for his restless nobility by leading them first against the wild Irish of Galloway, and then against the people of Moray, who seem to have been principally of Danish lineage. In his two first expeditions against Galloway he was repulsed; but in a third attempt he compelled Fergus, the lord of the country, to sue for peace and to make complete submission. In regard to the province of Moray (at that time certainly not confined to the modern county of the same name, but comprehending apparently the whole or the greater part of what is now called Inverness), where rebellions had been incessant, Malcolm is asserted to have adopted the strong measure of removing the old inhabitants altogether to other parts of the kingdom, and replacing them with new colonies. The subjugation of Galloway and Moray was followed, in 1164, by another contest with Somerled, who had again risen in arms, and landed at Renfrew on the Clyde with a numerous force, which he had collected both from his own territories and from Ireland. The Thane of Argyle probably sympathised with the Lords of Galloway and Moray, or regarded their fate as of evil omen to himself. The issue of his present

attempt, however, was eminently disastrous; his army was scattered with great slaughter in its first encounter with the King's forces, and both himself and his son were left among the slain.

It thus appears that Malcolm IV. was at least as successful as any of his predecessors in the maintenance of his proper authority as sovereign of Scotland, and that he probably extended the royal sway of the sceptre which they had left him in the country beyond the Tweed. His relinquishment, however, of the possessions which had been held by his grandfather in the south, and the partiality he evinced for a connexion with England, seem to have been in the highest degree distasteful to the generality of his subjects. At the head of the party which this feeling raised against him was his next brother William, for whom his grandfather is said to have intended the earldom of Northumberland, and who accordingly considered himself to be deprived of his inheritance by the agreement with Henry which Malcolm had made in the commencement of his reign. Meanwhile Malcolm is recorded on have, on the 1st of July, 1163, at Woodstock, renewed his homage to Henry, and also to have taken an oath of fealty to his infant son as heir apparent, and the relations between the two kings appear to have become more intimate than ever. The next notice that we have of the course of events in Scotland represents Malcolm as deprived of the government, and his brother William at the head of affairs as Regent. Even the fact of this revolution, however, is involved in considerable doubt, and various accounts are given of the causes that led to it. It is certain that he died at Jedburgh on the 9th of December, 1165, on which his brother William was raised to the throne.

Notwithstanding the part he had hitherto taken, William appears to have begun his reign by courting the alliance of the English king. He passed over to the continent to Henry, while he was employed in reducing the revolted Bretons in 1166, and, as already mentioned, was with him while he kept court in the castle on Mount St. Michael in the close of that year. The Chronicle of

Melrose (which is written throughout in an English spirit) says that William followed Henry to France "to do the business of his lord." It is probable that he expected to succeed by this conduct in his favourite object of recovering possession of Northumberland. Henry seems to have kept up his hopes by fair promises for some years: when his eldest son Henry was solemnly crowned at London on the 14th of June, 1170, both William and his younger brother David were present at the ceremony, and both did homage to the heir apparent along with the other English barons; but in 1173, when the quarrel broke out between the English king and his son, William, tired of fruitless solicitation, changed his course, and, joining in confederacy with the "junior king," from whom he obtained a grant of the earldom of Northumberland for himself, and of that of Cambridge for his brother, he raised an army and entered England as an enemy. But after merely ravaging part of the northern counties, he consented to a truce, which was eventually prolonged to the end of Lent in the following year. In 1174, however, he again invaded Northumberland. As before, his troops spread devastation wherever they appeared; but their destructive course was soon stopped. William, as has been already related, was on the 12th of July suddenly fallen upon at Alnwick by a party of Yorkshire barons, headed by Ranulf de Glanville, and made prisoner, with all his attendants. The Scottish king and his sixty knights, however, were not taken captive without resistance. As soon as William perceived who the enemy were, which was not till they were close upon him, for at first he had taken them for a returning party of his own stragglers, he cried out, "Now it will be seen who are true knights," and instantly advanced to the charge. But the numbers of the English (there were four hundred horsemen with Glanville) made this gallantry wholly unavailing. The king was quickly overpowered and unhorsed, and was carried that same night to Newcastle, his attendants voluntarily sharing the fate of their sovereign. He was at first confined in the castle of Richmond, in Yorkshire; but after

a few weeks Henry carried him across the seas to Falaise, in Normandy. In this strong fortress he remained shut up till the conclusion of the treaty of Falaise, in December following, by which William, with the consent of his barons and clergy, became the liegeman of Henry for Scotland and all his other territories. He was then liberated and allowed to return home, on delivering up to the English king the castles of Edinburgh, Stirling, Roxburgh, Berwick, and Jedburgh, and giving his brother David and many of his chief nobility as hostages for his adherence to the treaty.

The next event requiring to be noticed in the reign of William is a remarkable contest in which he was engaged with the court of Rome. It began in 1178, when, on the death of Richard, bishop of St. Andrews, the chapter elected as his successor John Scot, an Englishman of distinguished learning. The nomination of a bishop by the chapter, without the royal consent, was a stretch of ecclesiastical authority which had never been quietly submitted to either in England or Scotland, although any actual conflict between the claims of the spiritual and the temporal powers had usually been avoided by the king and the chapter uniting in the election of the same person. But in the present case William had a particular motive for making a stand against the clerical encroachment, having destined the see for Hugh, his chaplain. "By the arm of St. James," he passionately exclaimed, when he heard of the election made by the chapter, "while I live John Scot shall never be bishop of St. Andrews." He immediately seized the revenues of the see, and, disregarding the appeal of John to Rome, made Hugh be consecrated, and put him in possession. When the Pope, Alexander III., cancelled this appointment, and John was the following year consecrated in obedience to the papal mandate, William instantly banished him from the kingdom. The pope on this resorted to the strongest measures: he laid the diocese of St. Andrews under an interdict; he commanded the Scottish clergy within eight days to install John; soon after he ordered them to excommunicate Hugh; and, finally, he

granted legatine powers over Scotland to the Archbishop of York, and authorized that prelate and the Bishop of Durham to excommunicate the king of Scotland, and to lay the whole kingdom under an interdict if the king did not forthwith put John in peaceable possession of the see. Still William was inflexible on the main point. He offered to make John chancellor, and to give him any other bishopric which should become vacant: but this was the only concession he would make. When the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Durham called upon the clergy of the diocese of St. Andrews to yield obedience to John under pain of suspension, he banished all who complied with that summons. At last the two prelates went to the full extent of their tremendous powers, and actually pronounced sentence of excommunication against William, and laid the kingdom of Scotland under an interdict. But at this point the death of Alexander (in August, 1181) prevented further consequences. William lost no time in making application to the new Pope, Lucius III., who, with the customary regard of each sovereign pontiff for the decrees of his predecessor, consented to reverse the sentence of excommunication, and to recall the interdict. The affair was ended by the pope himself nominating Hugh to the bishopric of St. Andrews, and John to that of Dunkeld, and so, to use the words of Lord Hailes, "making *that* his *deed* which was the king's *will*." Lord Hailes observes that William, in the obstinate stand he made on this occasion against Pope Alexander, "seems to have been proud of opposing to the uttermost that pontiff, before whom his conqueror Henry had bowed."

Notwithstanding the success which is attributed to the measures taken by the preceding king for reducing to a real obedience the various provinces that had before only acknowledged, at the utmost, a qualified dependence upon the Scottish crown, we find insurrections in these districts still disturbing the present reign.

In 1186, William, on the proposal of the English king, married Ermengarde, the daughter of Richard Viscount Beaumont, and the descendant of an illegitimate

daughter of Henry I.; on which, as part of the dower of his *cousin*, Henry restored the castle of Edinburgh. Two years afterwards he also offered to give up the castles of Roxburgh and Berwick, if William would pay the tenths of his kingdom for the holy war; but the Scottish barons and clergy made answer, "That *they* would not, although *both* kings should have sworn to levy them."

The accession of Richard I. to the English throne was followed, in a few months, by the release of William from the obligations which Henry, in the words of the charter of acquittance (dated December 5th, 1189), "had extorted from him by new instruments, in consequence of his captivity;" with the proviso, only, that he should in future perform whatever homage had of right been performed, or had been of right due, by his brother Malcolm. There seems to be no pretence for denying that this was a full renunciation by Richard, at least of whatever new rights of sovereignty over Scotland had been created by the treaty of Falaise. For this acquittance, and the restitution of the castles of Roxburgh and Berwick, William agreed to pay ten thousand marks sterling.

William lived many years after this, but scarcely any events of importance mark the remainder of his reign. Some disturbances in Caithness, in 1196 and the following year, compelled him to march an army into that province, where he seized Harold, the Earl of Orkney and Caithness, who was at the head of the insurrection, and detained him in captivity until his son Torfin surrendered himself as a hostage. This was, perhaps, the earliest actual assertion by any Scottish king of his authority in that remote district; the earls of which, if they acknowledged any limitation of their independence, had probably been wont to consider themselves subject rather to the Danish than to the Scottish crown.

After the accession of John to the throne of England, William did homage to him (November 22nd, 1200) at Lincoln, "saving his own rights." A few years afterwards a misunderstanding arose between the two kings

respecting a fort which John attempted to erect at Tweedmouth, and which William repeatedly demolished as soon as it was built. A war at last threatened to arise out of this quarrel; and, in 1209, the English king advanced to Norham, and the Scottish to Berwick, each at the head of an army. But no encounter took place; a treaty of peace was concluded by the intervention of the barons of both nations, by which William became bound to pay to John fifteen thousand marks, as a compensation, it is supposed, for his demolition of the fort, which John, on his part, is said to have undertaken not to rebuild. William also delivered his two daughters to John, that they might be provided by him with suitable matches.

William died, after a long illness, at Sterling, on the 4th of December, 1214, in the seventy-second year of his age, and forty-ninth of his reign. He was surnamed *The Lion* on account, says Boyce, of his singular justice, —which seems a strange reason. It is more probable that he took this title from the lion rampant, the coat armorial of the Scottish kings, which he appears to have been the first to introduce. The statutes attributed to him consist of thirty-nine chapters; but a few of them are believed to be interpolations of a later period. He left many natural children; but, besides his two daughters, mentioned above, only one son by his wife Ermengarde de Beaumont, a youth in his seventeenth year, who succeeded his father, and was crowned at Scone on the 10th of December, 1214, by the name of Alexander II. The part taken by the new king of Scots, in conjunction with the English barons in their contest with John, has been related above.

We have now merely to add a notice of the few leading events, of subsequent date to Henry's expedition, which occur in the history of Ireland before it becomes mixed in one stream with that of England. The appearances of entire submission which had been exhibited during Henry's stay in the island were not long preserved after he left its shores. Before the close of the year 1172 the people had risen against the English do-

mination in various districts; and, for the next three years, De Lacy, Strongbow, and their associates, were kept in constant activity by the active or passive resistance of one part of the country or another. In 1175, Henry, in the hope that it might have some effect in subduing this rebellious temper, produced, for the first time, the bull which he had procured from Pope Adrian twenty-four years before, along with a brief confirming it, which he had received in the interval from Alexander III. William Fitz-Aldelm, and Nicholas, prior of Wallingford, were sent over to Ireland with the two instruments; and they were publicly read in a synod of bishops which these commissioners summoned on their arrival. In this same year, also, a formal treaty was concluded between Henry and Roderick O'Connor, by which the former granted to the latter, who was styled his liegeman, that so long as he continued faithfully to serve him, he should be king of the country under him, and enjoy his hereditary territories in peace, on payment of the annual tribute of a merchantable hide for every tenth head of cattle killed in Ireland. For some years after this one chief governor rapidly succeeded another, as each either incurred the displeasure of the king by the untoward events of his administration, or, as it happened in some cases, awakened his jealousy by seeming to have become too popular or too powerful. But Henry never himself returned to Ireland. At length, in 1185, he determined to place at the head of the government his youngest son, John, then only in his nineteenth year; the lordship of Ireland, it is said, being the portion of his dominions which he had always intended that John should inherit. But this experiment succeeded worse than any other he had tried. The same evil dispositions which were afterwards more conspicuously displayed on the throne, showed themselves in John's conduct almost from the first day he began to exercise his delegated authority; by his insulting behaviour he converted into enemies those of the Irish chieftains who had hitherto been the most attached friends of the English interest; and he met with nothing but loss and disgrace in every

military encounter with the natives. He was hastily recalled by Henry after having been only a few months in the country. The government was then put into the hands of John de Courcy, who had some years before penetrated into Ulster, and established the English power for the first time in that province. De Courcy remained governor to the end of the reign of Henry; and from this date the history of Ireland may be considered as merged in the history of England.

CHAPTER III.

The History of Religion.

The first act by which the Conqueror expressed the joy of his heart for the victory of Hastings was in accordance with the spirit in which he had professed to conduct his enterprise from its commencement, and betrayed none of that jealousy of the church which he showed at a later period. Up to this time the countenance of the pope and the church had been one of his main stays, and he had still to look to that quarter for much important aid in establishing his power. In these circumstances, and in the hour of triumph, when he gave orders for building the abbey of Battle, he was naturally liberal to profusion, both in the privileges which he granted to the new establishment and the revenues with which he proposed to endow it.

Although many of the higher churchmen had, during a great part of the reign of the Confessor, been in the Norman interest, and continued among the firmest friends of William after his seizure of the throne, the great body of the clergy were strongly attached to the national cause. Some of them had even taken arms and fought on the side of Harold at Hastings; and, in the course of the protracted contest which followed before the country was finally subjugated, the English, in their resistance to the foreigners, had been on several occasions animated and led on by their priests. Hence it soon became a leading principle in the policy of William to depress the ecclesiastical power; while on the other hand the church, thus selected as a chief object of attack, rose on that account in the affections of the country, and grew every day to

be more and more regarded as the strength and best representative of the patriotic cause.

Among the higher ecclesiastics who stood by what was considered as the English faction, the most conspicuous had all along been the Primate Stigand. He had refused, as we have already related, to put the crown on the head of the Conqueror, who was thereupon obliged to apply to Aldred of York to perform that office. Stigand, besides, lay under the displeasure of the court of Rome on other grounds. William therefore, when he judged that the proper time had come, found no difficulty in effecting the removal of the obnoxious prelate: he was deposed by the papal legates at a council held at Winchester in the early part of the year 1070. The person appointed by the king, with the consent of the barons, to be his successor, was the celebrated Lanfranc. Lanfranc had been a professor of laws in his native city of Pavia; but he had afterwards removed to Normandy, and opened a school at Avranches. Here he acquired great celebrity, and his seminary became the source from which the surrounding country was gradually provided with a lettered clergy. Of such importance were his services thought to be, that having, on the advance of old age, given up his public employment and retired to the monastery of Bec, he was after a few years induced, much against his own wish, to resume his occupation of schoolmaster or lecturer, and he continued to perform its duties with undiminished reputation till he was past the age of eighty, when William made him abbot of his new monastery of St. Stephen at Caen. He had nearly reached his ninetieth year when he was invited to the archbishopric of Canterbury.

Having once assumed his high office, Lanfranc showed himself determined to neglect neither its duties nor its rights. The first thing to which he applied himself was to recover for his church of Canterbury the numerous ancient possessions of which it had been deprived in the confusions or by the arbitrary proceedings of the last few years. In pursuing this object, obliged as he was to contend with haughty barons, whom their liege lord could scarcely control, his intrepidity and perseverance enabled

him to succeed in many instances. Even the powerful Odo, uterine brother to the king, was thus compelled to restore twenty-five manors which had formerly belonged to the see of Canterbury. The wealth thus recovered for the church was applied by Lanfranc to the promotion of its interests. He rebuilt the cathedral of Canterbury with Norman stone, repaired the sacred edifices, and erected churches and monastic establishments where they were considered most necessary. He also caused the bishops to remove their seats from the villages, in which many of them resided, to the larger towns: he is said to have introduced certain reforms into the monastic institutions, and he established schools in various parts of the kingdom. Lanfranc at the same time cordially co-operated with William in that particular point of ecclesiastical reformation which the latter no doubt had most at heart, the general substitution of a foreign for a native clergy. Very good reasons were easily found for the displacement of many of the English priests, on the ground both of ignorance and immorality; and, on the whole, it is probable that the result of their ejection was the settlement in the country of a more instructed body of pastors than it had previously possessed.

We must suppose that, whatever may have been the motives of another kind that principally actuated William, this was the end which Lanfranc kept in view, and by which he justified to himself the measures of severity in which he took part. His own elevation, indeed, had been one of the commencing moves of the royal scheme of reform; for it was at the council at which Stigand was deposed, held by the papal legates in 1070, that the removal of the native clergy and the introduction of foreigners were begun. For some years after this, the course which had been thus entered upon was vigorously pursued, till the conversion of the spiritual estate to a community of interests and feeling with the civil government was pretty completely effected. In many instances the crime of being an Englishman, or inability to speak the Norman tongue, was reckoned sufficient for clerical deposition in the absence of more substantial charges.

Even the saints of the Saxon calendar shared in the fate of their worshippers. Their sanctity was denied, and their worship ridiculed. Of the unfortunate clergy, some endeavoured to make terms with a power they had no means of resisting, by consenting to descend to a humbler station in the church; others fled to Scotland. Their necessities, or the hope of vengeance, drove many to the forests, where they joined the bands of outlaws, and sanctioned with the rites of religion the wild struggle of independence which was there long maintained by the sparks of the popular spirit that were last in being trodden out, and also the deeds of rapine and cruelty with which it was doubtless plentifully deformed.

It appears that in most instances the higher church benefices were filled by William with men of learning and virtue; but it was impossible for him, whatever his wishes may have been, to prevent the intrusion of many unworthy persons into the inferior appointments. He had hired adventurers to his standard by promises of ecclesiastical as well as political preferment. The powerful barons, whose swords had hewn out his way to the throne, and now maintained him upon it, had kinsmen and retainers of the clerical order, whose demands could not be refused; and thus, though vacancies were rapidly made, they were still insufficient for a throng of greedy expectants, the gratification of whose demands, on the other hand, only deepened the miseries of the land and the hatred of the unhappy people.

But while William was thus exercising the privileges of a victor in the church as well as the state, he was surprised by finding himself threatened with vassalage in turn. The subtle and imperious Hildebrand, now pope, by the title of Gregory VII., declaring that kings and princes were but the vassals of St. Peter and his successors, summoned William to do homage for the possession of England. The answer of the proud Norman was brief and decisive. The tax of Peter's-pence, discontinued of late years in England, and now required by the pope, he declared that he would regularly pay; but the homage he peremptorily refused, alleging that it had never been

promised by himself, nor rendered by any of his predecessors. With this answer to his demand, Gregory was obliged to remain satisfied for the present: he probably, indeed, expected no other, and only announced his claims with a view to their enforcement in more favourable circumstances, and that no future English king might be able to profess astonishment at their being advanced, seeing that they had first been pressed upon the Conqueror. William, in the mean time, taking advantage of the contest which arose between the pope and the emperor, and of his own remoteness from Rome, which enabled him to act with the more independence, commenced a vigorous warfare against the papal encroachments. He ordered, first, that no pontiff should be acknowledged in his dominions without his previous sanction, and that papal letters, before they were published, should be submitted to his inspection; secondly, that no decision, either of national or provincial synods, should be carried into execution without his permission; and, thirdly, that the clerical courts should neither implead nor excommunicate any tenant holding of the crown *in capite*, until the offence had been certified to himself.*

During the latter period of William's reign an event occurred, arising out of the disorders of the conquest, but from which an important benefit resulted to religion. No uniformity was observed in the public worship—the prayers, and their mode of recital, frequently depending upon the caprices of the officiating priest. In order to enforce a favourite liturgy among the Saxon monks of Glastonbury, Thurstan, their Norman abbot, entered the church with a band of archers and spearmen. The monks withstood even this armed demonstration; a desperate conflict commenced round the altar, and behind the great crucifix, which was soon stuck thick with arrows, while benches, candlesticks, and crosses were wielded in their defence by the brethren, several of whom were slain. This incident suggested the necessity of a form

* Eadmer, p. 6.

established by authority; and Oswald, Bishop of Salisbury, composed a church-service, that became universal throughout the realm.*

Lanfranc did not long survive the accession of Rufus, for whom he materially assisted in securing the throne, and whose chief counsellor he continued to be while he lived. The archbishop, it is recorded, did not fail to press upon the new king the fulfilment of the oaths he had taken to observe the laws; but Rufus, now that he had obtained his end, was little inclined to give heed to these exhortations. The primate, however, maintained a considerable ascendancy over the irregular spirit of the king, by which his excesses were frequently restrained; and, with longer time, Lanfranc might perhaps have been also enabled to develope some of those better qualities, the elements of which Rufus undoubtedly possessed. But the archbishop, being nearly a hundred years old, died in 1089, about two years after the commencement of the reign.†

Lanfranc was succeeded in his office of the king's chief adviser by the notorious Ralph Flambard. One of the chief sources to which the new minister looked for the supply of the royal coffers, was the plunder of the church. At his instigation Rufus took to himself the revenues of all vacant bishoprics and abbacies, and in many cases kept the most important offices in the church unfilled for years, drawing the profits all the while into his own exchequer. In these cases the ecclesiastical estates were farmed out to those who offered the highest terms for the uncertain tenure, and who of course employed, without scruple, all the means at their command to repay themselves, and to make the most of their temporary occupation. The tenants under this system were ground to the earth by the most merciless exactions; and when, at last, an occupant was appointed to the benefice, he was usually required to pay a heavy premium for his promotion, which, again, he could only raise by a continuation of the same methods which had already produced

* W. Malmes.—Chron. Sax.—Knyghton.

† Ordaric, p. 341-45.—W. Malmes. 117.

so much suffering, and gone so far to exhaust the resources of the benefice.

This oppressive course of the king had continued for about four years, when, in 1093, he was seized with a dangerous sickness, and, under the agonies of terror and remorse, he became anxious to repair the wrongs he had done the church. Since the death of Lanfranc he had kept the see of Canterbury vacant, swearing that it should have no archbishop but himself; but now, impetuous in repentance as in guilt, he insisted that Anselm, the successor of Lanfranc in the abbacy of Bec, and whom that prelate had before his death expressed his wish to have also for his successor in the primacy, should forthwith be appointed archbishop. Anselm happening to be at the time in England, he was hurried to the bedside of the king. A crozier was presented to him, but he refused to touch it, till the royal attendants unclenched his fingers and forced the sacred staff into his struggling hand, when all with one accord burst forth into a *Te Deum* for the primate whom heaven had sent them, while the helpless monk in vain protested against the whole proceeding. Anselm, upon accepting the primacy, had stipulated for the restoration of all the church lands belonging to his see, and the implicit obedience of the king to his advice in all matters of religion; and to these demands William had evasively replied that the archbishop's reasonable expectations would be fulfilled. But the penitence of the king vanished with his fit of illness, and he rose from his sick-bed with fresh vigour to resume the plunder of the church. His first quarrel with the primate was on the subject of the price to be paid by the latter for his promotion. As Rufus had not been accustomed to confer the higher benefices without a valuable consideration, Anselm was willing to comply with the usage; but, pleading his previous poverty and the impoverished condition of the see, he offered only the sum of five hundred pounds. Rufus eyed the money with disdain, and refused it, on which the primate bestowed it upon the poor. Afterwards he was given to understand that a thousand pounds would be a more welcome offer-

ing, but he declared that he was unable to raise such a sum from his exhausted revenues.* When this answer was reported to the king it filled him with fury. "As I hated him yesterday," he exclaimed, "so I hate him more to-day; and tell him that I shall hate him more bitterly the longer I live. I shall never acknowledge him for my archbishop."†

A ground of open quarrel was soon found. About seven months after his forced acceptance of the see, the primate proposed, after the custom of his predecessors, to proceed to Rome, to receive the pall from the hands of the sovereign pontiff; but there were at present two rival popes, between whom Rufus had not yet made his election. When Anselm, therefore, presented himself to request permission to set out on his journey, Rufus asked him, in real or affected surprise, to what pope he meant to go. Anselm at once answered that he should go to Urban II. Indignant at this arbitrary decision, the king instantly exclaimed, "As well tear the crown from my head as dispossess me of a right which is the peculiar prerogative of the English kings!" The archbishop, nevertheless, did not hesitate to announce that he intended to proceed on his journey, even without the leave of the king. In these circumstances a council of the nobility and prelates was forthwith assembled at Rockingham to decide upon the case. The bishops acknowledged the illegality of the primate's conduct; but when the king demanded his deposition, they declared that that could only be effected by the authority of the pope. They agreed, however, to unite in endeavouring to persuade him to retract his decision in favour of Urban, and to forego his journey; but Anselm would make no such concessions. The affair was thus fast advancing to a crisis, when the difficulty was solved by Rufus finding it expedient to acknowledge the claims of Urban, and by the

* Rufus exacted the same sum from his favourite Flambard, on presenting him with the bishopric of Durham. It is likely, however, that this able financier found no great difficulty in raising the money.

† Ead. p. 21-25.

pope, on the other hand, by way of returning the favour, dispensing with the personal attendance of Anselm, and transmitting the pall to England.

As Rufus, however, still persisted in keeping many of the chief offices of the church vacant, while Anselm felt it his duty to urge that proper persons should be appointed to the abbacies and other preferments which the king thus retained in his own hands, the quarrel between them was not long in breaking out again with all its former violence. "Are not the abbeys mine?" exclaimed the Red King, when the archbishop pressed his unwelcome solicitations;—"do what you please with the farms of your archbishopric, but leave me the same liberty with my abbeys!" Anselm eventually determined to go to Rome, and lay the matter before the pope, deterred neither by the steady refusal of Rufus to grant him permission to leave the kingdom, nor by the confiscation and banishment which he was assured would follow his unauthorized departure. He set out on his journey in the spring of 1098, on foot, as a humble pilgrim, with a staff and wallet; and in this guise he reached Dover, where he underwent the indignity of a strict search from the king's officers, that he might carry no money out of England. He arrived, however, in safety at Rome, where he was greeted by the pope with the most distinguished welcome. Urban, addressing him in a long speech before his whole court, called him the pope of another world, while all the English in the city were commanded to kiss his toe.* The pontiff soon after sent a letter to Rufus, requiring the restitution of Anselm's property, which had been confiscated at his departure; but when the king understood that the bearer was a servant of the archbishop, he swore that he would tear out his eyes unless he instantly quitted the kingdom.

Before, however, it was known what reception the pope's application had met with, an ecclesiastical council which was held at Rome in the close of this year, and at

* W. Malmesb. p. 127.

which Anselm was present, declared that the king of England deserved excommunication for his treatment of that prelate; but at Anselm's request, made upon his knees, the pope refrained from actually pronouncing the sentence for the present. But this council is especially memorable in the history of the church, for the decision to which it came upon the great question of investiture, which had now become the main point in the contest between the pretensions of the spiritual and of the temporal power in every part of Christendom. The matter in dispute was simply whether ecclesiastical persons, on being inducted into bishopries and abbeys, should be permitted to receive the ring and crozier (by which the temporalities of the benefice were understood to be conveyed) from the hands of the prince. It is evident, however, that this ceremony involved the whole question of whether, in every country, the clergy should be under the dominion of the king or of the pope. Its observance, accordingly, had been for a long time as strongly protested against by the court of Rome, as it had been usually insisted upon by every temporal sovereign. The present council denounced excommunication both against all laymen who should presume to grant investiture of any ecclesiastical benefice, and against every priest who should accept of such investiture. It was alleged, with a daring freedom of language, to be too horrible for hands that created the Creator himself—a power not granted even to the angels—and that offered him to the Father as a sacrifice for the world's redemption, to be placed in fealty between the hands of one who might be stained and polluted with every excess.*

Soon after this arrived the answer of Rufus to the pope's letter. "I am astonished," he wrote, "how it could enter your mind to intercede for the restoration of Anselm. If you ask wherefore, this is the cause:—when he wished to go away, he was plainly warned that the whole revenues of his see would be confiscated at his

* The proceedings of this council are very minutely related by Eadmer, the companion of Anselm in his flight and banishment.

departure. Since, therefore, he would needs go, I have done what I threatened; and I think I have done right." Anselm was not recalled so long as Rufus lived.

When Henry Beauclerc succeeded, his defective title required the sanction of the church, and he, therefore, politically recalled Anselm from banishment, at the commencement of his reign. He also promised neither to farm nor to sell the ecclesiastical benefices, as his brother had done, and to restore to the church all its former immunities; and he threw into prison the obnoxious Flambard, the agent of the late oppressions.

It was not long, however, before the quarrel respecting investiture was renewed, by the demand of Henry, that Anselm should do homage for his archbishopric. To this demand the latter returned a decided negative. In consequence, the vexatious subject was again referred to Rome, and, as might have been expected, the decision pronounced by Pascal II., who was now pope, was in favour of the church. Henry, notwithstanding, still commanded Anselm either to do homage or leave the kingdom; but the archbishop would do neither. He declared that he would abide in his province, and he defied any one to injure him there. A second deputation was thereupon sent to Rome, to intimate, in the name of the king and nobles, that unless the right of investiture was conceded, they would banish Anselm, dissolve their connexion with the papal see, and withhold the usual payments.

Thus pressed, if we may believe the account given by Anselm's biographer, Eadmer, the court of Rome had recourse to a very strange and clumsy stratagem. Three bishops had brought the message of the king, and two monks had also arrived to plead the cause of the archbishop. To the bishops, it is affirmed, the pope verbally conceded the right of investiture as claimed by the king, but excused himself from committing the permission to writing, lest other sovereigns should demand the same privileges, and despise his authority; while by the monks he sent letters to Anselm, exhorting him to resist all royal investitures, and hold out to the uttermost. The

deputies of both parties returned to London, and, at a great council held there (A.D. 1102), after the bishops had rehearsed their verbal commission, the monks produced their letters. The pope afterwards declared the statement of the bishops to be false, and even excommunicated them as liars; but still Henry stood out. At length it was arranged that the archbishop should himself repair to Rome to obtain a positive decision; and he set out on his journey, accordingly, on the 29th of April, 1103.

Some years of further negotiation followed, during which Anselm remained abroad. At last a compromise was effected by the pope consenting that, provided the king would abstain from insisting upon the investiture with ring and crozier, the bishops and abbots should do homage, in the same manner with the lay tenants in chief of the crown, for the temporalities of their sees. On the tedious controversy being thus brought to a close, Anselm returned to England in August, 1106.

Two years after this act of pacification, a council was held at London, to enforce the obligation of clerical celibacy, a rule which both Anselm and his predecessor Lanfranc had always shown great zeal in promoting, although the subject had been partially lost sight of during the late controversies. Ten canons were now passed on this head more rigid than any that had been hitherto promulgated. All married priests of whatever degree were commanded instantly to put away their wives,—not to suffer them to live on any lands belonging to the church,—and never to see them or converse with them except in urgent cases, and in the presence of witnesses. As a punishment for their crime in marrying, they were to abstain from saying mass for a certain period, and to undergo several penances. Those who refused to banish their wives were to be deposed and excommunicated; their goods were to be confiscated, and their wives, as adulteresses, to be made slaves to the bishop of the diocese.*

* Spelman's Concilia, i. p. 29.

Anselm ended his troubled career in 1109, in the seventy-sixth year of his age and sixteenth of his primacy. His writings, which still remain, prove that he possessed a large share both of literary knowledge and metaphysical acuteness; and it deserves to be remembered, as one of his chief merits, that he zealously followed up, and even extended, the plans of his predecessor Lanfranc, for the establishment of schools and the diffusion of learning in the country of his adoption. Whatever may be thought, also, of the course which he took in defence of what he conceived to be the rights of his station and of his order, or of some of his measures for the reform of the church over which he presided, it is evident that the contest he so perseveringly waged was for no merely personal or selfish objects. To his honour, it is recorded that the English loved him as if he had been one of themselves.* After his death, Henry was in no haste to fill the see of Canterbury, and he kept it vacant for the space of five years.

The ecclesiastical history of the remainder of the reign of Henry offers no events that require to be related. The conduct of the leading clergy in the contention between Stephen and Matilda has been detailed at sufficient length in a preceding chapter. The defective nature of Stephen's title afforded a favourable opportunity, which the ecclesiastical interest did not neglect, of extorting from the crown an acknowledgment of its haughtiest and heretofore most strenuously-disputed pretensions. Exemption from the royal investiture, and the right of carrying ecclesiastical causes by appeal to Rome, were conceded by Stephen, or usurped in spite of him, by a church that was daily improving in the art of profiting by every political emergency. It is not till the reign of Henry II., however, that the contest re-assumes much interest or distinctness; and to that period we will now therefore at once proceed.

The principal figure here is Becket. The legend of the origin of this celebrated personage is sufficiently

* Eadmer, Hist. Nov. 112.

romantic. Gilbert Beck, or Becket, a Saxon yeoman, followed to the crusades the penman of his Norman lord, but being taken prisoner by an emir of the Saracens, he was thrown into a dungeon. The daughter of the infidel prince saw and loved the humble captive, and by her aid he effected his escape and reached his native country. Pining at his absence, the maiden afterwards conceived the wild idea of following his steps, though she knew no more of his language than his name and that of the city in which he dwelt. She hastened to a seaport, and making her wishes known by repeating the word "London," she obtained a passage in a ship bound for England. Having reached the English capital, she went from street to street calling upon "Gilbert," until the invocation met the ear of the lost object of her affection. Having abjured her native faith, and been baptized, the foreign maiden became the wife of Becket, now a citizen of London. From this union was born Thomas, the future Archbishop of Canterbury, a man whose remarkable life was destined to be a fit sequel to this singular history.*

His education, his introduction at court by the patronage of Archbishop Theobald, the rapid progress which he made in the royal favour, his elevation to the chancellorship, and his subsequent appointment to the primacy, with the extraordinary transformation which his mode of life and his whole character underwent upon the last-mentioned event, have been already related. There can be little doubt as to what Henry's design was in thus placing at the head of the church the man who had hitherto been the most compliant as well as the most active and dexterous of his ministers in civil affairs. When the intention of making him primate was first intimated to Becket he frankly declared to his friends that, in accepting the new dignity, he was aware that he must forfeit the favour either of God or the king. He expressed the same sentiment to Henry himself, but in

* Brompton, in K Scriptores. The story is told by this author at great length and with considerable pathos.

such an equivocal manner that his remark seemed rather intended for a jest. Many persons professed to be not a little shocked as well as astonished; but perhaps the indignant feelings of the Norman part of the community were as much excited by Becket's Saxon lineage as by the daring profanation at which they affected to be scandalized.

Unclerical as the archbishop's former life had been, and notwithstanding his obnoxious promotion, the bishops as well as the clergy generally were at first delighted with such a primate; and the Saxon population, while they were charmed with his affability and humbleness of demeanour, had their exultation and affection heightened in regarding him as belonging to their own race.

The circumstances which led to the first breach between the king and the archbishop have already been stated. The whole course, indeed, of the contest between Henry and Becket is so interwoven with the general history of the kingdom, that a sketch of it from its commencement to its close has been necessarily given in relating the civil transactions of the period, and we have only now to fill up certain parts of that outline by a few additional details in regard to points belonging more especially to the subject of the present chapter.

The various matters in dispute between the two parties, it will be remembered, were all submitted to the great council of prelates and barons which met at Clarendon, in January, 1164. A short review of what took place upon that occasion, and of the history of the decrees, or "constitutions," as they were called, passed by the council, will best explain the conflicting claims of the king on the one hand and the archbishop on the other, and the relative positions in which the church and the state were left by the issue of the controversy.

The particular question which originated what eventually became a general contest about their respective rights between the crown and the spiritual estate, appears to have been—whether the clergy, when accused of crimes, should be tried and punished by the ecclesiastical or the civil courts. Filled as many of the lower offices

in the church were, with persons of little education, and whose emoluments were not such as to raise them above the habits and temptations of the lowest poverty, it is no wonder that, in an age of such general rudeness and disorder, some of the most serious offences, including even acts of violence and blood, should occasionally be committed by churchmen. It was alleged, however, with apparent reason, that the temptations to the commission of crime in the case of a priest were greatly augmented by the peculiar sort of trial and punishment to which it subjected him. During the Saxon times, the clergy and laity were alike amenable to the courts of common law; but the Conqueror withdrew the bishops from the civil tribunals, and, in imitation of the order of things already existing in all the other countries of Christendom, placed them at the head of other courts of their own. The extent of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction thus established had, from the first, been a subject of uncertainty and dispute; but latterly the church courts had asserted the right of alone taking cognizance of all offences whatever committed by the clergy. One strong ground on which this claim was objected to by the civil authorities, was the inadequacy of the punishments which the ecclesiastical judges were considered to have the power of inflicting; for they were held to be restricted by the canons from pronouncing sentence of death; and, in consequence, for the most heinous offence committed by a priest, the heaviest retribution was stripes and degradation from his sacred offices. It was also alleged that a natural partiality for their order induced those who presided in the church courts to treat the offenders that were brought before them with dangerous lenity, and sometimes, perhaps, made them shut their eyes altogether to the proofs of a churchman's guilt.

The Constitutions of Clarendon, as finally digested, were sixteen in number. They were presented for the acceptance of the council by the king, as a restoration or recognition of the ancient customs of the realm, or, as it was more specifically declared in the preamble, of the usages, liberties, and dignities which had prevailed and

been maintained in the days of his grandfather and the other kings his predecessors. It must be admitted that this title was not a correct description as applied to all the articles. The instrument comprehended, as has been already observed, the entire scheme of reformation by which Henry proposed to bring the church under subjection to the civil authorities; and, however necessary certain of the clauses might be for this end, or however just and proper, they were undoubtedly innovations upon the laws and practice that had subsisted ever since the Conquest. The substance of the principal enactments was—that all cases, whether civil or criminal, in which a clergyman was concerned, should be tried and determined in the king's court; that appeals should lie from the archbishop to the king; and that no cause should be carried farther than the archbishop's court (in other words, to Rome) without the king's consent; that no archbishop, bishop, or dignified clergyman, should depart from the kingdom without the king's leave; that no tenant in chief of the crown, and no officer of the royal household or demesne, should be excommunicated, or his lands put under an interdict, until application had been made to the king or the grand justiciary; that churches in the king's gift should not be filled without his consent; that when an archbishopric, bishopric, abbacy, or priory became vacant, it should remain in the custody of the king, who should receive all its rents and revenues; that the election of a new incumbent should be made upon the king's writ, in the royal chapel, and with the assent of the king; and that the person elected should do homage and fealty to the king before being consecrated.

To these propositions Becket, at an interview with the king some time before the meeting of the council, had, although with much reluctance, promised that he would give his assent; and all the other bishops had also expressed their readiness to acquiesce in them. But now the archbishop, on being formally asked by the king to fulfil his promise, to the surprise of all present, peremptorily refused to give any other answer than that he

would render obedience to the said ancient customs of the realm, saving the rights of his order. Terrified at the rage into which the king broke out at this unexpected opposition, Becket's brethren vehemently implored him to yield. Meanwhile the door of the antechamber being thrown open, discovered a band of knights standing clad in armour, and with their swords drawn. In these alarming circumstances Becket's firmness was at last shaken; and he promised that, if the meeting should be adjourned for the purpose of having the enactments digested into a regular form, he would then do what was required of him. But when he retired into solitude he was confounded at the thought of his weakness. Filled with remorse, he resolved even yet to draw back, to whatever of reproach or danger he might, by so doing, expose himself. When, therefore, the meeting reassembled on the following day, and copies of the Constitutions were produced, he peremptorily refused his signature. Neither entreaties nor threats could now move him. Retiring from the council, he wrote to the pope an account of all that had taken place, soliciting absolution for the momentary lapse of which he had been guilty; and, as a penance for the same crime, he condemned himself to an abstinence of forty days from the service of the altar.*

The Constitutions of Clarendon, however, as assented to by the barons and the other prelates, became for the present the law of the land, notwithstanding the dissent and opposition of the archbishop.

It is only necessary to add, here, that Henry, on his reconciliation with the pope, in 1172, only obtained absolution on solemnly promising to abolish all laws and customs hostile to the clergy that might have been introduced in his kingdom since the beginning of his reign,—to reinstate the church of Canterbury in all the possessions it had held a year previous to Becket's departure, and to make restitution to all the friends of the late primate who had been deprived of their property. To

* Gervase.

these, it is said, were added some other engagements which were not committed to writing; and one version of the oath taken by Henry makes him acknowledge the kingdom of England to be held by him in feudal subjection to the pope. This article, however, has generally been held to be a forgery; and while on the one hand the evidence of its authenticity is very weak, its inherent improbability on the other is certainly strong.

Notwithstanding Henry's promise to abolish the customs that infringed upon the rights of the clergy, the Constitutions of Clarendon remained unrepealed for some years after this time. But if they were still nominally law, they were little better than a dead letter. All effective opposition to the cause of which Becket had been the great champion, was for the present put down by his martyrdom, and the wonders that were believed to have followed that event. After the interment of the body, crowds of the afflicted repaired to the spot, where the lame recovered the action of their limbs, the blind received sight, and the sick were healed.* Every day added to the number of the pilgrims and the miracles, and consequently to the spread and fervour of the delusion. The enthusiasm became general, and messenger after messenger was despatched to Rome with fresh tidings of prodigies, and supplications that Becket might be made a tutelary saint for the blessing and protection of England. This favour was at last granted by the pope; and the 29th of December, the day on which the saint was assassinated, was assigned to him in the calendar.†

It was not, however, till the year 1176 that, at a great council held at Northampton, the repeal, or rather the modification, of the Constitutions of Clarendon was formally effected. It was there agreed, though not without much opposition from many of the barons,—first, that the clergy should not be brought to trial before the temporal courts on any charges except for offences against the

* Gervase, p. 1417.—Mat. Par. 125

† Baron. Annal. 1173.

forest laws; and, secondly, that no bishopric or abbey should be kept in the king's hands longer than a year, except in circumstances which might make it impossible to have the vacancy filled up in that time. In this state the law continued the remainder of the period now under review.

Before dismissing this reign, an event remains to be mentioned, which although otherwise insignificant, is memorable as the first instance on record of any opposition being made to the common faith, and as such may be regarded as the earliest harbinger of the Reformation in England. About the beginning of the year 1166, a synod was held at Oxford in the presence of the king, for the arraignment of certain foreigners accused of heresy. It appears that five years before, several Germans, to the number of thirty men and women, had arrived in England, and began to disseminate their religious opinions; but as they had hitherto only converted one woman of low rank, and as their demeanour had been peaceful, they had been allowed to live unmolested. Attention, however, was at last called to the circumstance that their principles differed from the established creed, on which they were thrown into prison, and now brought for trial before the king. To the question of what was their belief, Gerard their leader answered that they were Christians, and venerated the doctrines of the apostles. But it is alleged that, when they were examined upon particulars, they spoke impiously of the eucharist, baptism and marriage, and when urged with texts of Scripture, refused all discussion, declaring that they believed as they were taught, and would not dispute about their faith. When they were exhorted to recant, they received the admonition with scorn; and when threatened with punishment, they answered with a smile, "Blessed are they who suffer for righteousness' sake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven." As heresy was new in England, the judges were at a loss how to act; but canons had already been enacted by the council of Tours against the Albigenses, and sentence was pronounced in conformity with these. The accused were condemned to be branded

in the forehead with a hot iron, and to be publicly whipped and expelled out of Oxford, while the king's subjects were forbidden by proclamation to shelter or relieve them. The enthusiasts went to their punishment in triumph, singing, "Blessed are ye when men shall hate you and persecute you." Their garments were cut off by the waist, their brows were seared, and their backs torn with scourges; and thus bleeding, and almost naked, in the depth of winter, they wandered about unsheltered among the fields, until they died. Such is the obscure account delivered by the contemporary writers, in whose eyes dissent in belief from the church of Rome was an incomprehensible anomaly. It is probable that these strangers, from the notions ascribed to them on the institution of marriage and the sacraments, were Cathari, or Albigenses.

The history of ecclesiastical affairs in England during the reign of Richard I. is almost a blank; every feeling was absorbed in the great subject of the Crusades, and the clergy, who had already gained all for which they had contended at home, found ample scope for their belligerent propensities in the fields of Palestine, to which many of them repaired in warlike array, notwithstanding the canons that had been enacted against their bearing arms. During the reign, the power of the popedom, which had been exerted in favour of Richard in the negotiations for his release, was also directed effectually against him when he showed symptoms of opposition to Rome. Hubert, the primate, jealous of the monks of Canterbury, and desirous to abridge their privileges, had determined to raise up against them a rival body, in the form of an establishment of canons regular, for whom he proceeded to erect a splendid edifice at Lambeth, with the approbation of Richard. But the monks of Canterbury, alarmed for their rights, and suspecting that the gainful relics of Becket would be transferred to the new house, fiercely opposed the project, and appealed to the Pope, Innocent III., who warmly espoused their cause, and directed a bull to the archbishop, in 1198, commanding him in a very imperious style to desist immediately

from his proceedings. He afterwards addressed another bull to Richard, whom he threatened for his contumacy in abetting the archbishop; warning him that if he persevered he should soon find in his punishment how hard it was to kick against the pricks. By a subsequent mandate also addressed to the king, Innocent declared that he would not endure the least contempt of himself or of God, whose place he held upon earth. The lion-hearted king and the rebellious archbishop were equally dismayed at these menaces, and the obnoxious building was destroyed.*

The history of the church in the reign of King John is principally a continuation of the same great contest respecting the appointment to the higher ecclesiastical offices between the clergy or the pope, on the one side, and the crown on the other, which had been carried on throughout the greater part of the preceding century. In the earliest ages of the Christian church, the election of bishops was by the voice of the clergy and the people of the diocese. After the establishment, however, of the feudal system in the different kingdoms of Europe, and the annexation to bishoprics of high political power and large landed possessions, the king naturally claimed the right of being at least a party in the nomination to an office which gave to its possessor so much weight in the state. The claim to a veto upon the election was as naturally extended to that of an absolute right of appointment, as soon as the crown found that it could not otherwise secure the office for its own nominee. Accordingly, this was substantially the position which the crown at last assumed, although the form in which it asserted its claim varied with circumstances. When it found itself obliged, for instance, to relinquish the absolute nomination of the bishop, it stood out for the right of granting or refusing to the individual elected that investiture, without which he certainly could not draw the revenues of the see, even if he could exercise any of the spiritual powers of his office. The course taken by the church, on the other

* Gervase, 1616-1624.

hand, equally varied in conformity to the course of events. In the first place, at a very early period, the interference of the laity was first reduced to a mere form, and then got rid of altogether. Subsequently the claim of the general body of the clergy of the diocese to a voice in the election was disputed, and the right of voting was asserted to reside solely in the chapter. As the chapter in many cases consisted of the monks of some religious house to which the cathedrals were held to belong, the natural enmity beween the regular and the secular clergy here interfered materially to inflame the quarrel. This was the case, for instance, at Canterbury, where the chapter consisted of the monks of the great monastery of St. Augustine, who thus claimed the sole right of electing the Primate of all England. The regular clergy (that is, those living under monastic rule) were always, it may be observed, regarded by the court of Rome as the main support of its authority, and it usually took their side against the secular (so called, as living at large in the world). What the popes therefore endeavoured to effect in regard to the nomination of bishops, was to retain that power either in their own hands or in those of the chapters. Against the claim of the king to present in the first instance they constantly protested. In many cases, however, the chapters submitted to present the person named to them by the king. Even in this case, however, the question of investiture created a serious difficulty to be got over after the nomination had been settled. But the particular point upon which the dispute between John and Innocent III. hinged, was the power claimed by the papal court of appointing to a bishopric vacated by the irregularity of the election, or by the unfitness of the person elected, the right being also assumed by it of deciding upon the irregularity or unfitness.

Little or no change took place in the internal constitution of the English church in consequence of the Norman Conquest; and its establishment remained through the whole of the period now under review nearly the same as it was before that event. The principal alteration was that made by the creation of two new sees—

of Ely in 1109, and of Carlisle in 1133, in addition to the fifteen (including the two archbishoprics) that had existed in the Saxon times, being the same that still exist, with the exception of Oxford, Peterborough, Gloucester, Chester, and Ripon.

Before the Conquest the only order of monks known in England was that of the Benedictines, or observers of the rule of St. Benedict, instituted in the early part of the sixth century, which some conceive to have been brought over by Augustine, but which was most probably unknown in the country till a considerably later period, and certainly was first generally established by St. Dunstan in the tenth century. Nor perhaps was the rule of St. Benedict ever strictly observed by the English monks till after the Conquest. In the course of the twelfth century two new orders were introduced, the Cistercians, or Bernardines, in 1128, and the Carthusians in 1180. Both these indeed may be considered as branches of the Benedictines, only distinguished by subjection to a discipline of still greater severity. The order of the Carthusians especially (founded at Chartreux, in France, by St. Bruno in 1080, whence their establishments in England were corruptly called Charter-houses) was the strictest of all the monastic orders, the members never being allowed to taste flesh, and being restricted on one day of every week to bread, water, and salt. The Carthusians never became numerous in England. The order of the Cistercians (instituted at Cisteaux, in Latin Cistertium, in Burgundy, in 1098, and afterwards greatly patronized by the celebrated St. Bernard) was chiefly distinguished by having its houses situated for the most part at a distance from all other habitations. There were a considerable number of them both in England and in Scotland.

The most common form, however, which enthusiastic devotion assumed in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, was that of going on pilgrimage to some spot supposed to be of peculiar sanctity, either within the kingdom or abroad. After the martyrdom and canonization of Becket, his shrine at Canterbury became, and for ages continued to be the favourite resort of the pious when

they did not extend their penitential journey beyond the limits of their own country. Abroad, Rome, Loretto, but especially Jerusalem, Mount Sinai, and the other parts of the Holy Land now attracted crowds of palmers,* "beyond the example of former times," to use the words of Gibbon, "and the roads were covered with multitudes of either sex, and of every rank, who professed their contempt of life, so soon as they should have kissed the tomb of their Redeemer. Princes and prelates abandoned the care of their dominions; and the members of these pious caravans were a prelude to the armies which marched in the ensuing age under the banner of the Cross." Out of this practice of pilgrimage grew the Crusades, in which the spirit of devotion formed a strange alliance with the military spirit, each communicating something of its peculiar colour and character to the other. Four of these extraordinary expeditions belong to the present period, of which the first (the consequence of which was the establishment of the kingdom of Jerusalem) set out in 1097, the second in 1147, the third (that in which Cœur de Lion took so distinguished a part) in 1189, and the fourth (which resulted in the conquest of Constantinople from the Greeks) in 1203. The Crusades, however, though professedly religious enterprises, produced less effect upon the religion of the age in which they were undertaken than upon most of the other great constituents of its social condition. Among the phenomena that sprung out of the Crusades, none presented a more expressive type of their character than the religious orders of knighthood. The two ear-

* Pilgrims to foreign parts were properly called Palmers, from the branches of the palm-tree, the emblem of victory, which they used to bear in their hands. In token of having crossed the seas, or of their intention of doing so, they were wont to put cockle, or scallop shells in their hats—accord- to Ophelia's song in Hamlet,

"How should I your true-love know
From another one?
By his cockle-hat and staff,
And by his sandal shoon."

liest and most distinguished of these, the Knights Hospitallers of St. John, and the Knights Templars, both acquired establishments and extensive possessions in this country soon after their institution; the principal seat of the former having been established at St. John's Hospital in Clerkenwell, London; that of the latter at the Temple (to which they had removed from a previous residence in Holborn), many years before the close of the twelfth century.

BOOK IV.

THE PERIOD FROM THE ACCESSION OF HENRY III. TO THE END OF THE REIGN OF RICHARD II.

A.D. 1216—1399.

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

ENGLAND.

1216 Henry III.
1272 Edward I.
1307 Edward II.
1327 Edward III.
1377 Richard II.

SCOTLAND.

1249 Alexander III
1286 Margaret.
1292 John Baliol.
1296 Interregnum.
1306 Robert I.
1329 David II.
1371 Robert II.
1390 Robert III.

FRANCE.

1223 Louis VIII.
1226 Louis IX.
1270 Philip III.
1285 Philip IV.
1314 Louis X.
1316 Philip V.
1322 Charles IV.
1328 Philip VI.
1350 John.
1364 Charles V.
1380 Charles VI.

CASTILE AND LEON.

1230 Ferdinand III.
1252 Alphonso X.
1284 Sancho IV.
1295 Ferdinand IV.
1312 Alphonso XI.
1350 Pedro.
1366 Henry II.
1367 Pedro restored.
1369 Henry II. restored.
1379 John I.
1390 Henry III. and Catherine of Lancaster.

GERMANY.

1212 Frederic II.
1251 Conrad IV.
1254 Interregnum
1273 Rodolph
1292 Adolphus
1298 Albert I.
1308 Henry VII.
1314 Louis V.
1347 Charles IV.
1378 Wenceslaus.

POPES.

1216 Honorius III.
1227 Gregory IX.
1241 Celestine IV.
1243 Innocent IV.
1254 Alexander IV.
1261 Urban IV.
1265 Clement IV.
1271 Gregory X.
1276 Innocent V.
1276 Adrian V.
1276 John XXI.
1277 Nicholas III.
1281 Martin IV.
1285 Honorius IV.
1287 Nicholas IV.
1294 Celestine V.
1294 Boniface VIII.
1303 Benedict XI.
1305 Clement V.
1316 John XXII.
1334 Benedict XII.
1342 Clement VI.
1352 Innocent VI.
1362 Urban V.
1370 Gregory XI.
1378 Urban VI. and Clement VII.
1389 Boniface IX. and Clement VII.
1394 Boniface IX. and Benedict XIII.

CHAPTER I.

HENRY III., SURNAMED OF WINCHESTER.

As soon as they had buried John at Worcester, the Earl of Pembroke, the Marshal of England, marched with the royal army and Prince Henry, the deceased king's eldest son, to the city of Gloucester. On the day after their arrival, being the feast of St. Simon and St. Jude, October 28th, 1216, Henry was crowned in the church of St. Peter, belonging to the Abbey of Gloucester, by Gualo, the pope's legate, whose services in supporting the royal cause were of great value and efficacy. The ceremony was precipitated; no English bishops were present except those of Winchester, Bath, and Worcester; no lay nobles save the earls of Chester, Pembroke, and Ferrers, and four barons. The scanty retinue was completed by a few abbots and priors. The prince took the usual oaths "upon the gospels and relics of saints." The crown had been lost, with the rest of the regalia, in the Wash, and, instead of it, Gualo put a plain ring of gold on his head. Henry was only ten years old when he went through these solemnities, without understanding them. It required no great force or persuasion to induce him to consent to do homage to the pope for England and Ireland, and to swear to pay the thousand marks a-year which his father had promised. The clergy of Westminster and Canterbury, who considered their rights invaded by this hurried and informal coronation, appealed to Rome for redress; Gualo excommunicated the appellants, who, however, persevered; and this matter occasioned considerable trouble, which did not end till the ceremony was repeated in a more regular manner.

A great council was held at Bristol on the 11th of November following; and there the Earl of Pembroke

was chosen Protector, with the title of *Rector Regis et Regni*. His pure character and many eminent qualities,—his temper, prudence, and conciliating manners,—his experience in public affairs and his military skill, all seemed to point him out as the most eligible person; but some jealousies arose on the part of the great Earl of Chester, and Pembroke did not assume the style of "Rector" till the end of the month of November. At the same great council of Bristol Magna Charta was carefully, and, on the whole, skilfully revised, with the view of satisfying the demands of the barons who adhered to Louis, without sacrificing the royal prerogative. These measures, however, were not considered conclusive, for Pembroke prudently left several clauses open for future discussion, when all the barons of the kingdom should be reconciled, and should meet again in one council. As yet the greater number of the nobles were on the side of Louis, who not only held London and the rich provinces of the south, but was powerful both in the north and the west, where the King of Scotland and the Princes of Wales supported his cause.*

When Louis learned the death of John he fancied that all opposition would presently cease. To take advantage of the consternation which he fancied must prevail among the royal party, he again pressed the siege of Dover Castle with great vigour, and, finding himself still incapable of taking it by force, he skilfully worked upon the fears and misgivings of the garrison, representing to them that they were fighting for a king who no longer existed, and whose death freed them from the obligation of their oaths of fealty. He tempted the governor, the brave Hubert de Burgh, with the most magnificent offers; and, when these failed, he threatened to put Hubert's brother to death. But threats were as ineffectual as promises; and, finding he was losing precious time, the French prince finally raised the siege, and returned to London, where the Tower, which had hitherto held out, was given up to him on the 6th of

* Rymer.—Carte.—M. Paris.

November. From London Louis marched to Hertford, and laid siege to the castle there, which he took on the 6th of December. He then attacked the castle of Berkhampstead, which he reduced on the 20th of the same month. Both these castles made a stout resistance, costing him many men; and the taking of that of Berkhampstead was a loss rather than a gain, for it led to a quarrel with Robert Fitz-Walter, to whom he refused the custody of the castle. But his mistrust of the English was made every day more evident. From Berkhampstead Louis marched to St. Albans, where he threatened to burn the vast abbey to the ground if the abbot did not come forth and do him homage as legitimate king of England; but the abbot, it is said, escaped on paying a fine of eighty marks of silver. For a long period the carnage of war had been brought to a pause, by unanimous consent, on the seasons of our Saviour's birth and suffering. Christmas was now at hand, and a truce was agreed upon which was to last till a fortnight after the Epiphany. At the expiration of this truce Pembroke willingly agreed to another which did not expire till some days after the festival of Easter. Each party hoped to gain by this long armistice, and both were extremely active during its continuance. Louis, in Lent, went over to France to procure supplies of men and money, and Pembroke recruited in England, and drew off many of the nobles during the absence of the French prince. Louis left the government in the hands of Enguerrand de Coucy, a nobleman of great quality, but of very little discretion, under whose misrule the French became more arrogant than ever, and the English barons were made to feel that, by securing the throne to a foreign prince, they should impose upon themselves foreign nobles for masters. At the same time the clergy, in obedience to the orders of Gualo the legate, read the sentence of excommunication in the churches every Sunday and holiday against the partisans of Louis. Hubert de Burgh, as constable of Dover Castle and Warden of the Cinque Ports, was in constant communication with the best mariners in England, and he kept them true to young Henry.

Philip d'Albiney put himself at the head of a popular party in Sussex, where one William de Collingham collected a thousand gallant archers,—rough English yeomen, who would allow of no truce with the French, and cared not for the armistice concluded by the Earl of Pembroke. On his way to the coast Louis came into collision with these sturdy patriots, who treated him very roughly, and would have made him a prisoner but for the opportune arrival of the French fleet, in which he and his attendants embarked in great disorder. On his return from France with reinforcements, the mariners of the Cinque Ports cut off several of his ships at sea, and took them by boarding. On this Louis landed at Sandwich, and burned that town to the ground in spite. He then, after making another unsuccessful attempt on Dover Castle, marched to London, where everything was falling into confusion.

On the expiration of the truce the Earl of Pembroke recommenced hostilities by laying siege to the castle of Mount Sorel, in Leicestershire. Louis sent the Count of Perche with six hundred knights and twenty thousand armed men to relieve it. On their march this mixed army of English, French, Flemings, and all kinds of mercenaries, committed great havoc, plundering the peaceful inhabitants, and wantonly burning the churches and monasteries. They succeeded, however, in their first object, Pembroke's forces raising the siege and retiring before superior numbers. Flushed with this success, the Count of Perche marched away to Lincoln: the town received him, but the castle resisted, and when he laid siege to it, he was foiled by a woman,—Nichola, the widow of Gerard de Camville, who held the custody of Lincoln Castle by hereditary right, and made a brave defence. While the confederates were wholly occupied with this siege, Pembroke suddenly collected a force of four hundred knights, two hundred and fifty cross-bowmen, many yeomen on horseback, and a considerable body of foot, and appeared before Lincoln in admirable order. The count for a time would not believe that the English would venture to attack him within a walled

town; and though his superiority in cavalry would have given him an advantage in the open country, he rejected the advice of some English barons who were with him, and would not march out of the town. He continued to batter the castle until he found himself engaged in a fatal street contest. To animate Pembroke's force Gualo now excommunicated Prince Louis by name, and pronounced the curse of the church against all his adherents; dispensing at the same time full absolution, and promises of eternal life, to the other party. The regent took advantage in the most skilful manner of the count's blunder: he threw all his crossbows into the castle by means of a postern. These yeomen made great havoc on the besiegers by firing from the castle walls; and seizing a favourable opportunity they made a sortie, drove the enemy from the inside of the northern gate of the city, and enabled Pembroke to enter with all his host. The French cavalry could not act in the narrow streets and lanes: they were wounded and dismounted, and at last were obliged to surrender in a mass. The victory was complete: as usual, the foot-soldiers were slaughtered, but the "better-sort" were allowed quarter: only one knight fell, and that was the commander, the Count of Perche, who threw away his life in mere pride and petulance, swearing that he would not surrender to any English traitor. This battle, facetiously called by the English "the Fair of Lincoln," was fought on Saturday, the 20th of May, 1217.

Its effect was to keep Louis cooped up within the walls of London, where plots and disturbances soon forced him to propose terms of accommodation. In the middle of June a conference was held at a place between Brentford and Hounslow, but it led to nothing. Philip of France had been so scared by the threats of Rome that he durst not send reinforcements in his own name: but he urged that he could not prevent Blanche of Castile, the wife of his son Louis, from aiding her own husband in his extremity; and under this cover another fleet and army were prepared for England. It was not till the 23rd of August that this fleet could sail from

Calais: it consisted of eighty great ships and many smaller vessels, having on board three hundred choice knights and a large body of infantry. On the next day, the great festival of St. Bartholomew, as they were attempting to make the estuary of the Thames, in order to sail up the river to London, they were met by the hero of Dover Castle, the gallant de Burgh. Hubert had only forty vessels great and small, but he gained the weather gage, and by tilting at the French with the iron beaks of his galleys, sunk several of the transports with all on board. He afterwards grappled with the enemy, fastening his ships to theirs by means of hooks and chains, and in the end he took or destroyed the whole fleet with the exception of fifteen vessels.

This decisive naval victory gave the death-blow to the project of Louis. That Prince, however, acted generously and nobly in the midst of his difficulties: he would not abandon his friends, but said, when pressed, that he was ready to agree to any terms not inconsistent with his honour or the safety of his English adherents. The prudent regent was glad enough to promise good terms to these barons, who, whatever might be their after errors, had been among the foremost champions of English liberty, and had assisted in obtaining the Great Charter, which he himself loved as much as any of them. There were also many other nobles, on the same side, equally averse to proceeding to extremities against countrymen, former friends, and relations. The final terms were easily settled in a conference held on the 11th of September on an islet of the Thames near Kingston. It was agreed that the English barons who had continued to adhere to Louis, besides having their estates restored to them, should enjoy the customs and liberties of the kingdom, and all improvements thereof, equally with others. The privileges of London, as of all other cities and boroughs, were to be confirmed, and the prisoners on both sides taken since Louis's first landing were to be released without ransom, unless where previous arrangements had been made between parties. Louis was to give up all the castles he possessed, and to write to

Alexander, king of Scotland, and Llewellyn, prince of Wales, to induce them to restore all the fortresses and places they had taken, if they would be included in the treaty. He also acquitted the English nobles of their oaths and obligations to him, and promised never to enter again into any confederacy with them to Henry's prejudice; and the barons made a like engagement on their own behalf. The French prince and his adherents swore to observe these articles, and to stand to the judgment of the church, upon which they were all absolved by the legate.* Louis was so poor, that he was obliged to borrow money from the citizens of London to defray the expenses of his journey home. On the 14th of September, a safe conduct was granted to him: he was honourably escorted to the sea-side by the Earl of Pembroke, and he sailed for France with his foreign associates. On the 2nd of October, a few refractory barons, the only remnant of a great party, went to court, and were exceedingly well received there. On the fourth day of the same month, a new charter for the city of London was promulgated; and a few days later, the regent, for the general good of the nation, concluded with Haquin, or Haco, king of Norway, a treaty of free commerce between the two countries. At the same time, this excellent regent's prudence and equity did more than a written treaty in reconciling conflicting parties at home. He was accessible and courteous to all, taking especial care that no man should be oppressed for his past politics. His authority, however, did not extend to the church, and Gualo severely chastised many of the English abbots and monks who had ventured to disregard his excommunications.

In all these transactions no mention had been made of Eleanor, the Maid of Brittany, who still occupied her dungeon or her cell at Bristol, nor was her name ever breathed during the civil wars which followed—a proof how little female right was then regarded; for, by the rules of succession as now recognised, she was the un-

* Rymer.

doubted heiress to the throne. Henry began his reign in leading-strings, and owing to his weak and defective character, he never freed himself from such absolute guidance, but passed his whole life in a state of tutelage and dependence—being now governed by one powerful noble, or by one foreign favourite, and now by another. Isabella, the selfish queen-mother, abandoned her child in the midst of his troubles, and hurried back to Guienne in search of a new husband. It conveys a strange notion of the delicacy of those times, to find that the Count of la Marche, from whom John had stolen her, consented to take her back, and remarried her with great pomp. Every day the peace of the country was made more secure—"the evil will borne to King John seeming to die with him, and to be buried in the same grave."* But the determination to preserve the liberties which had been wrung from him was alive and active, and a second confirmation of Magna Charta was granted by the young king. Besides that the benefits of the charter were now extended to Ireland, several alterations were made in the deed, and a clause was added, ordering the demolition of every castle built or rebuilt since the beginning of the war between John and the barons. Other clauses were withdrawn, to form a separate charter, called the Charter of Forests. By this instrument, which materially contributed to the comfort and prosperity of the nation, all the forests which had been enclosed since the reign of Henry II., were thrown open; offences in the forests were declared to be no longer capital; and men convicted of the once heinous crime of killing the king's venison, were made punishable only by fine or imprisonment.

Meanwhile the spirit of insubordination which had arisen out of the civil war was gradually coerced or soothed by the valour and wisdom of the Earl of Pembroke, who was singularly averse to the cruelties and bloodshedding which had formerly disgraced all similar pacifications. But the excellent protector did not long enjoy the happy

* Speed, Chron.

fruit of his labours; he died in the year 1219, about the middle of May, and was buried in the church of the Knights Templars at London, where his tomb or statue is still to be seen, with an inscription which scarcely exaggerates his virtues as a warrior and statesman. His authority in the state was now shared between Hubert de Burgh, the justiciary, the gallant defender of Dover Castle, and Peter des Roches (a Poictevin by birth), bishop of Winchester. These ministers were jealous of each other: de Burgh was the more popular with the nation; but des Roches, who had the custody of the royal person, possessed the greater influence at court, and among the many foreigners who, like himself, had obtained settlements and honours in the land. Dissensions soon broke out; but dangerous consequences were prevented by the skill of Pandulph, who had resumed the legateship on the departure of Guala. On the 17th of May, 1220, young Henry was crowned again by Langton, archbishop of Canterbury, whom the pope had permitted to return to the kingdom. In the following year, Joanna, the eldest sister of Henry, was married at York, to Alexander, the king of Scotland; and nearly at the same time, one of the Scottish princesses who had been delivered to John, and who had ever since remained in England, was married to Hubert de Burgh, the justiciary. Pandulph then returned to Rome, having previously demanded, in the name of the pope, that no individual should hold more than two of the royal castles. On his departure, however, little respect was paid to the orders from Rome. Many of the barons—chiefly foreigners imported by John—refused to deliver up the fortresses which they pretended to hold in trust till the young king should be of age. While de Burgh insisted on their surrender, his rival, des Roches favoured the recusant chiefs. Plots and conspiracies followed; but in 1223, the justiciary, with the assent of the pope and the great council of the nation, declared Henry of age; and in the course of the following year he succeeded in getting possession of most of the disputed castles, taking some of them by siege and assault. Des Roches then gave up

the struggle, under pretence of making a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and many of the foreign adventurers followed him out of England. Though not a cruel man, Hubert de Burgh was far more severe than the Earl of Pembroke; for at the taking of Bedford Castle he hanged eighty of the foreign garrison, knights and others, who had been in the habit of committing frightful excesses in the country.

A.D. 1225.—In the following year, 1225, one of the main springs of the English constitution, which checks the abuse of power, by the mode of allotting money, began its salutary movements. Louis, the French prince, who had now succeeded his father, Philip, on the French throne, unmindful of his promises, overran some parts of Guienne and Poictou, and took the important maritime town of Rochelle. The young king summoned a *parliament* (for that name was now coming into use) to meet at Westminster; and there Hubert de Burgh, having opened the proceedings by an explanatory speech, asked for money to enable the king to recover his own. At first the assembly refused to make any grant, but it was finally agreed that a fifteenth of all moveable property should be given, on the express condition, however, that the king should ratify the two charters. Henry, accordingly, gave a third ratification of Magna Charta, together with a ratification of the Charter of Forests, and sent fresh orders to some of his officers, who had hitherto treated them with little respect, to enforce all their provisions.* In the month of April, Richard, earl of Cornwall, the king's brother, was sent to Guienne, under the guidence of the Earl of Salisbury, with an English army. But the French king had taken the cross against the Albigenses, an unfortunate people in the south of France, who were called heretics, and treated more cruelly than Saracens. A papal legate interfered, threatened the English with excommunication if they raised obstacles to Louis in his holy war, and, at last, made both parties agree to a truce for one year. Before the term expired,

* Matt. Par.—Brady.

the French king died at Paris, after a brief reign of three years, and was succeeded by his son Louis IX., who was only in his twelfth year. A stormy minority ensued; and Henry, who was now twenty years of age, might have taken advantage of it, had his character and his own circumstances been somewhat different from what they were. But the English king had little more real manhood than the child on the French throne; his barons were by no means anxious for the foreign war, and the armistice was subsequently renewed year after year, the English never recovering Rochelle, and the French making no further progress of importance.

Though he ruled with a firm hand, Hubert de Burgh was not always able to cause the government to be respected, and to maintain the tranquillity of the country.

A.D. 1229.—It was at length, however, resolved to carry war into France. Henry was twenty-two years old, Louis only fifteen; but Blanche, the mother of the latter prince, and regent of the kingdom, had composed all dissensions, and put the kingdom into a posture of defence. When Henry went to Portsmouth he found that the shipping provided was not sufficient to carry over his army, and after a violent altercation with Hubert de Burgh, who was accused of being the cause of this deficiency, the expedition was given up till the following year. At length the English king, elated by the promises and invitations of the barons of Guienne, Poictou, and even many nobles of Normandy, set sail for the continent, and landed at St. Malo, in Brittany, where he was joined by a host of Bretons. He advanced to Nantes, where, like his father before him, he wasted his time and his means in feasts and pageantries, leaving the malcontents in Normandy and Poictou to curse their folly in committing their fortunes in the cause of so unwarlike a prince. In the meantime young Louis, accompanied by his mother, who shared all the hardships of a campaign, took several towns belonging to Henry. In the beginning of October the English king returned home, covered with disgrace; and his ally, the Duke of Brittany, was obliged to appear at the foot of the throne of

Louis with a rope round his neck.* De Burgh had accompanied his master on this expedition; and, in spite of his known honour, bravery, and ability, the king, and some favourites with whom he had surrounded himself, attempted to throw all the blame of the miserable failure upon Hubert. The people, however, took a different view of the case, and set Henry down as a trifler and a coward. When he applied to parliament for a farther grant of money, and complained of the poverty to which his French expedition had reduced him, they refused the aid, and told him that, through his thoughtlessness and extravagance, his barons were as poor as he was.

A.D. 1232.—Hubert had now been eight years at the head of affairs. He enjoyed the good opinion of the people, whom he had never wantonly oppressed; but many of the nobles envied him his power, and hated him for his zeal in resuming the castles and other possessions of the crown. But for his tried fidelity, and his courage in the worst of times, that crown in all probability would never have been worn by the helpless Henry. But the proverbial ingratitude of princes was fostered in the present case by other circumstances, the most cogent of all being, that the minister was *rich* and the king wofully in want of money. On a sudden, Hubert saw his old rival Peter des Roches, the Poictevin bishop of Winchester, re-appear at court, and he must have felt from that moment that his ruin was concerted. In fact, very soon after Henry threw off his faithful guardian and able minister, and left him to the persecutions of his enemies. The frivolous charges brought against Hubert almost lead to a conviction that he was guilty of no breach of trust or abuse of authority,—of no real public crime whatever. Among other things, he was accused of winning the affections of the king by means of magic and enchantment.† The fallen minister took refuge in Merton Abbey. His flight gave unwonted courage to the king, who vapoured and stormed, and then commanded the Mayor of London to force the asylum, and

* Daru, Hist. de Bret. † Matt. Par.

seize Hubert dead or alive. The mayor, who seems a strange officer to employ on such an occasion, set forth with a multitude of armed men; but the king being reminded by the Archbishop of Dublin of the illegality and sacrilegiousness of such a procedure, despatched messengers in a great hurry and recalled the mayor. In the end, the Archbishop of Dublin, the only one among the great men who did not forsake Hubert, obtained for him a delay of four months, that he might prepare for his defence. For the interval, the king gave him a safe conduct. Relying on these letters-patent, de Burgh departed to visit his wife, the Scottish princess, at St. Edmunds-Bury; but he had scarcely begun his journey when the king, notwithstanding his plighted faith, listened to his enemies, and sent a knight—one Sir Godfrey de Crancumb—with 300 armed men to surprise and seize him. Hubert was in bed at the little town of Brentwood, in Essex, when this troop fell upon him. He contrived to escape, naked as he was, to a parish church, where, with a crucifix in one hand and the host in the other, he stood firmly near the altar, hoping that his attitude and the sanctity of the place would procure him respect. His furious enemies, however, were not deterred by any considerations, and, bursting into the church with drawn swords, they dragged him forth, and sent for a smith to make shackles for him. The poor artisan, struck with the sad state of the great man, and moved with generous feelings, said he would rather die the worst of deaths than forge fetters for the brave defender of Dover Castle and the conqueror of the French at sea. But Sir Godfrey and his "black band" were not to be moved by any appeal: they placed the earl on horseback, naked as he was, and, tying his feet under the girths, so conveyed him to the Tower of London. As soon as this violation of sanctuary was known, an outcry was raised by the bishops; and the king was in consequence obliged to order those who had seized him to carry the prisoner back to the parish church; but at the same time he commanded the sheriff of Essex, on the pain of death, to prevent the earl's

escape, and to compel him to an unconditional surrender. The sheriff dug a deep trench round the sanctuary,—erected palisades,—and effectually prevented all ingress or egress. Thus cut off from every communication,—unprovided with fuel and proper clothing (the winter was setting in),—and at last left without provisions, Hubert de Burgh came forth, on the fortieth day of his beleaguerment, and surrendered to the black band, who again carried him to the Tower of London. A few days after, Henry ordered him to be enlarged, and to appear before the court of his peers; but it is said that this decent measure was not adopted until Herbert surrendered all his ready money, which he had placed for safety in the hands of the Knights Templars. When Hubert appeared in court in the midst of his enemies, he declined pleading: some were urgent for a sentence of death, but the king proposed an award which was finally adopted by all parties. Hubert forfeited to the crown all such lands as had been granted him in the time of King John, or been obtained by him, by purchase or otherwise, under Henry. He retained for himself and his heirs the property he had inherited from his family, together with some estates he held in fief of mesne lords. Thus clipt and shorn, the brave Hubert was committed to the castle of Devizes, there to abide, in "free prison," under the custody of four knights appointed by four great earls. Within these walls, which had been built by the famous Roger, bishop of Sarum, whose adventures in some respects resembled his own, Hubert remained for nearly a year, when he was induced to adopt a desperate mode of escape by learning that the custody of the castle had just been given to a dependent of his bitter enemy the Poictevin bishop of Winchester. In a dark night he climbed over the battlements, and dropped from the high wall into the moat, which was probably in part filled with water. From the moat he made his way to a country church; but there he was presently surrounded by an armed band, led on by the sheriff. Circumstances, however, were materially altered: several of the barons who had before been intent on the

destruction of the minister were now at open war with the king, and anxious to secure the co-operation of so able a man as de Burgh. A strong body of horse came down, released him from the hands of his captors, and carried him off into Wales, where the insurgent nobles were then assembled. Some eighteen months later, when peace was restored, Hubert received back his estates and honours: he was even re-admitted into the king's council; but he had the wisdom never again to aspire to the dangerous post of chief minister. At a subsequent period the king again fell upon him, but, it appears, merely to enrich himself at his expense, for the quarrel was made up on Hubert's presenting Henry with four castles.*

The Poictevin bishop, who succeeded to power on the first displacement and captivity of Hubert, soon rendered himself extremely odious to all classes of the nation. He encouraged the king's growing antipathy to the English barons, and to Magna Charta; he taught him to rely on the friendship and fidelity of foreign adventurers rather than on the inconstant affection of his own subjects; and he crowded the court, the offices of government, the royal fortresses, with hosts of hungry Poictevins, Gascons, and other Frenchmen. The business of politics was as yet in its infancy: the nature of an opposition, constitutional and legal in all its operations, was as yet a discovery to be made; nor could men in their times and circumstances be expected to understand such things. The barons withdrew from parliament, where they were surrounded by armed foreigners, and took up arms themselves. When again summoned, they answered that unless the king dismissed his Poictevins and the other foreigners, they would drive both them and him out of the kingdom. Peter des Roches averted his ruin for the present by sowing dissensions among the English nobles. Several battles or skirmishes, which defy anything like a clear narration, were fought in the heart of England and

* Matt. Par.—M. West.—Wykes.—Chron. Dunst.—Holinshed.

on the Welsh borders. Richard, earl of Pembroke, the son of the virtuous Protector, to whom King Henry was so deeply indebted, was treacherously and most barbarously murdered, and, following up his temporary success, the Poictevin bishop confiscated the estates of several of the English nobles without any legal trial, and bestowed them on adventurers from his own land. Edmund, the new Archbishop of Canterbury, who had succeeded Langton, took up the national cause, and threatened the king with excommunication if he did not instantly dismiss des Roches and his associates. Henry trembled and complied: the foreigners were banished, and the archbishop for a short time governed the land with great prudence, and according to the Charters. But Henry's dislike both of his native nobles and of the Charters increased with his years.

A.D. 1236.—Henry now married Eleanor, daughter of the Count of Provence, who came to England with a numerous retinue, and was soon followed by fresh swarms of foreigners. The Bishop of Valence, the queen's maternal uncle, was made chief minister. Boniface, another uncle, was promoted to the see of Canterbury; and Peter, a third uncle, was invested with the earldom of Richmond, and received the profitable wardship of the Earl Warenne. The queen invited over damsels from Provence, and the king married them to the young nobles of England of whom he had the wardship. This was bad enough, but it was not all: the queen-mother, Isabella, whom the nation detested, had now four sons by the Count of la Marche, and she sent them over all four, Guy, William, Geoffrey, and Aymer, to be provided for in England. The king heaped honours and riches upon these half-brothers, who were soon followed by new herds of adventurers from Guienne. Henry had resumed, with the pope's permission, nearly all the grants of estates he had made to his native subjects; but even the resources thus obtained were soon exhausted, and he found himself without money and without credit. When he asked aids from the parliament, the parliament told him that he must dismiss the foreigners who devoured the

substance of the land, and they several times voted him small supplies, on the express condition that he should so do, and also redress other grievances; but he forgot his promises as soon as he got the money. The barons then bound him by oath, and Henry took the oaths, broke them, and acted just as before.*

A.D. 1242.—Isabella, the queen-mother, added alike to the odium in which she was held by the English, and to the embarrassments and unpopularity of her son, by hurrying him into a war with France. Louis was now in the prime of manhood, and immeasurably superior in all eminent qualities to his rival. He was loved and respected by his subjects; whereas Henry was despised by his. When the English parliament was called upon for a supply of men and money, they resolutely refused both, telling the king that he ought to observe the truce which had been continually renewed with France, and never broken (so at least they asserted) by Louis. By means not recorded Henry contrived to fill thirty hogsheads with silver, and, sailing from Portsmouth with his queen, his brother Richard, and 300 knights, he made for the river Garonne. Soon after his landing he was joined by nearly 20,000 men, some his own acknowledged vassals, some the followers of nobles who had once been the vassals of his predecessors, and who were now anxious, not to re-establish the supremacy of the English king in the south, but to render themselves independent of the crown of France by his means or at his expense.† Louis met Henry with a superior force on the banks of the river Charente, in Saintonge, and defeated him in a pitched battle near the castle of Taillebourg. The English king retreated down the river to the town of Saintes, where he was beaten in a second battle, which was fought on the very next day. His mother's husband, the Count of la Marche, who had led him into this disastrous campaign, then abandoned him, and made his own terms with the French king. Henry fled from Saintes right across Saintonge, to Blaye, leav-

* Matt. Par.—Chron. Dunst.—Ann. Waverl. † Mezeray.

ing his military chest, the sacred vessels and the ornaments of his movable chapel royal, in the hands of the enemy. A terrible dysentery which broke out in his army, some scruples of conscience, and the singular moderation of his own views, prevented Louis from following up his successes, and induced him to agree to a truce for five years.

A.D. 1244.—When Henry met his parliament this year, he found it more refractory than it had ever been. In reply to his demands for money, they taxed him with extravagance,—with his frequent breaches of the great charter: they told him, in short, that they would no longer trust him, and that they must have in their own hands the appointment of the chief justiciary, the chancellor, and other great officers. The king would consent to nothing more than another ratification of Magna Charta, and therefore the parliament would only vote him twenty shillings on each knight's fee for the marriage of his eldest daughter to the Scottish king. After this he looked to a meeting of parliament as a meeting of his personal enemies, and to avoid it he raised money by stretching his prerogative in respect to fines, benevolences, purveyances, and the other undefinable branches of the ancient revenue. He also tormented and ransacked the Jews, acting with regard to that unhappy people like a very robber; and he begged, besides, from town to town,—from castle to castle,—until he obtained the reputation of being the sturdiest beggar in all England. But all this would not suffice, and, in the year 1248, he was again obliged to meet his barons in parliament. They now told him that he ought to blush to ask aid from his people whom he professed to hate, and whom he shunned for the society of aliens; they reproached him with disparaging the nobles of England by forcing them into mean marriages with foreigners. They enlarged upon the abuse of the right of purveyance, telling him that the victuals and wine consumed by himself and his un-English household,—that the very clothes on their backs were all taken by force and violence from the English people, who never received any compensation;

that foreign merchants, knowing the dangers to which their goods were exposed, shunned the ports of England as if they were in possession of pirates; that the poor fishermen of the coast, finding they could not escape his hungry purveyors and courtiers, were frequently obliged to carry their fish to the other side of the Channel; and they added other accusations still more minute and humiliating.* In reply to the remonstrance of his barons, Henry gave nothing but fair promises which could no longer deceive, and he got nothing save the cutting reproof to which he had been obliged to listen.

The king now racked his imagination in devising pretexts on which to obtain what he wanted. At one time he said he was resolved to reconquer all the continental dominions of the crown; but, unfortunately, all men knew that Louis had departed for the East, and that Henry, who had not shone in the field, had contracted the most solemn obligations not to make war upon him during his crusade. He next took the cross himself, pretending to be anxious to sail for Palestine forthwith; but here again it was well known he had no such intention, and only wanted money to pay his debts and satisfy his foreign favourites. At a moment of urgent necessity he was advised to sell all his plate and jewels. "Who will buy them?" said he. His advisers answered,—"The citizens of London, of course." He rejoined bitterly,—"By my troth, if the treasures of Augustus were put up to sale, the citizens would be the purchasers! These clowns, who assume the style of barons, abound in all things, while we are wanting in common necessaries."† It is said that the king was thenceforth more inimical and rapacious towards the Londoners than he had been before. To annoy them and touch them in a sensitive part, he established a new fair at Westminster, to last fifteen days, during which all trading was prohibited in London. He went to keep his Christmas in the city, and let loose his purveyors among the inhabitants; he made them offer new-year's gifts, and shortly after, in

* Matt. Parr.—Matt. West.—Chron. Dunst. † Matt. Par.

spite of remonstrances, he compelled them to pay him the sum of 2000*l.* by the most open violation of law and right.

In A.D. 1253 Henry was again obliged to meet his parliament, and this he did, averring to all men that he only wanted a proper Christian aid that he might go and recover the tomb of Christ. If he thought that this old pretence would gain unlimited confidence he was deceived. The barons, who had been duped so often, treated his application with coldness and contempt; but they at last held out the hope of a liberal grant on condition of his consenting to a fresh and most solemn confirmation of their liberties. On the 3rd day of May the king went to Westminster Hall, where the barons, prelates, and abbots were assembled. The bishops and abbots were apparelled in their canonical robes, and every one of them held a burning taper in his hand. A taper was offered to the king, but he refused it, saying he was no priest. Then the Archbishop of Canterbury stood up before the people and denounced sentence of excommunication against all those who should, either directly or indirectly, infringe the charters of the kingdom. Every striking, every terrific part of this ceremony was performed: the prelates and abbots dashed their tapers to the ground, and as the lights went out in smoke, they exclaimed,—"May the soul of every one who incurs this sentence so stink and be extinguished in hell!" The king subjoined, on his own behalf,—"So help me God! I will keep these charters inviolate, as I am a man, as I am a Christian, as I am a knight, and as I am a king crowned and anointed!" His outward behaviour during this awful performance was exemplary; he held his hand on his heart, and made his countenance express a devout acquiescence; but the ceremony was scarcely over when, following the impulse given him by his foreign favourites, he returned to his old courses, and thus utterly up-rooted whatever confidence the nation yet had in him.*

* Matt. Par.—Matt. West.—W. Hemingford.

With the money he thus obtained he went to Guienne, where Alphonso, the king of Castile, had set up a claim to the earldom, and induced many of the fickle nobles to revolt against the English crown. This expedition was less dishonourable than the former ones; indeed it was successful on the whole, and led to a friendly alliance between England and Castile—Prince Edward marrying Eleanor, the daughter of Alphonso. But Henry concealed these arrangements for some time, in order to obtain a fresh grant from his parliament, under colour of carrying on the war. Henry returned pennyless; for the partial re-establishment of his authority in the south of France seems never to have benefited his exchequer. The expedients to which he had recourse in England, rendered him more and more odious and contemptible. When his fortunes were at this low ebb, he blindly embarked in a project which immensely increased his embarrassments. This project was no other than to raise one of his sons to the throne of the Two Sicilies. Pope Innocent offered the crown to Henry for his second son, Prince Edmund; and the beggared and incapable king joyfully closed with the proposal, agreeing to march presently with a powerful army into the south of Italy, accepting an advance of money from the pope to enable him to commence the enterprise, and proposing also to raise what more it might be necessary to borrow on the pope's security. Had the energy and the means of the English king at all corresponded with the activity and cunning policy of the Roman priest, there is little doubt that the prince might have obtained a dependent and precarious throne; but Henry was placed in circumstances in which he could do little—and, wavering and timid, he did nothing at all, except giving his son the empty title of "King of Sicily." The pope ordered the English clergy to lend money for the expedition, and even to pawn the property of their church to obtain it. The clergy of England were not very obedient; but whatever sums were raised were dissipated by the king or the Roman legate, and, in the end, the pope brought a claim of debt against Henry to the amount of more

than 100,000*l.*, which, it was alleged, had been borrowed on the Continent chiefly from the rich merchants of Venice and Florence. Henry, it appears had never been consulted about the borrowing or spending of this money; but the pope was an imperative accountant—a creditor that could enforce payment by excommunication, interdict, and dethronement; and Henry was obliged to promise that he would pay, and to rack his weak wits in devising the means. Backed by the pope he levied enormous contributions on the churches of England and Ireland. The native clergy were already disaffected, but these proceedings made them as openly hostile to the king as were the lay barons. The wholesale spoliation of the church had also the effect of lessening the clergy's reverence for the pope, and of shaking that power which had already attained its highest pitch, and which was thenceforward gradually to decline. When called upon to take up some of the pope's bills, the Bishop of Worcester told Rustan, the legate, that he would rather die than comply; and the Bishop of London said that the pope and king were, indeed, more powerful than he, but if they took his mitre from his head, he would clap on a warrior's helmet. The legate moderated his demands and withdrew, fully convinced that a storm was approaching, and that the Sicilian speculation had completed the ruin of the bankrupt king.* As long as his brother Richard, the great Earl of Cornwall, remained in England, and in possession of the treasures he had hoarded, there was a powerful check upon insurrection; for though the earl's abilities in public affairs seem hardly to have been equal to his wealth, still the influence he possessed in the nation was most extensive. He had repeatedly opposed the illegal courses of the king, and had even been out in arms with the barons more than once; but he was averse to extreme measures, and, from his position, not likely to permit any invasion of the just prerogative of the crown. He had rejected one dazzling temptation, yet was he not proof against a second. The Germans

* Matt. Par.

were setting up their empire for sale, and Richard's vanity and ambition induced him to become a purchaser. Having spent immense sums, he was elected, in the beginning of 1256, as "King of the Romans," which was considered the sure step to the dignity of emperor. But there was a schism among the electors, part of whom, a few weeks later, gave their suffrages to Alphonso, King of Castile. Richard, however, went over to the Continent, was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle, and left the crown of England to be dragged through the mire.

A.D. 1258.—A scarcity of provisions disposed the people to desperate measures. On the 2nd of May Henry called a parliament at Westminster. The barons, who had formed a new confederacy, went to the Hall in complete armour. As the king entered, there was a rattling of swords: his eye glanced timidly along the mailed ranks; and he said, with a faltering voice, "What means this? Am I a prisoner?" "Not so," replied Roger Bigod; "but your foreign favourites and your own extravagance have involved this realm in great wretchedness: wherefore we demand that the powers of government be entrusted and made over to a committee of bishops and barons, that the same may root up abuses and enact good laws." One of the king's foreign half-brothers vapoured and talked loudly, but as for himself, he could do nothing else than give an unconditional assent to the demands of the barons, who thereupon promised that, if he proved sincere, they would help him to pay his debts, and prosecute the claims of his son in Italy. The parliament then dissolved, appointing an early day to meet again at Oxford, where the committee of government should be appointed, and the affairs of the state finally adjusted.*

The present leader of the barons, and in all respects the most remarkable man among them, was the Earl of Leicester. It is evident that the monkish chroniclers were incapable of understanding or properly appreciating the extraordinary character of this foreign champion

* Matt. Par.—Wykes.—Rymer.

for English liberties; and those writers have scarcely left materials to enable us to form an accurate judgment. Simon de Montfort was the youngest son of the Count de Montfort in France, who had gained an unhappy celebrity in the barbarous crusades against the Albigenses. In right of his mother, Amicia, he had succeeded to the earldom of Leicester; but he appears to have been little known in England until the year 1238, when he came over from his native country, and married Eleanor, the Countess-Dowager of Pembroke, a sister of King Henry. This match was carried by the royal favour and authority; for Richard, earl of Cornwall, the king's brother, and many of the English barons, tried to prevent it, on the ground that it was not fitting a princess should be married to a *foreign* subject. But the earl had no sooner secured his marriage, and made himself known in the country, than he set himself forward as the decided opponent of foreign encroachment and foreign favourites of all kinds; and such was his ability, that he caused people to overlook the anomaly of his position, and to forget that he himself was a foreigner. He not only captivated the good-will of the English nobles, but endeared himself in an extraordinary degree to the English people, whose worth and importance in the state he certainly seems to have been one of the first to discover and count upon. His devotional feelings (which upon no ground, that we can discover, have been regarded as hypocritical) gained him the favour of the clergy: his literary acquirements, so unusual in those times, increased his influence and reputation. There seems to be no good reason for refusing him the merits of a skilful politician; and he was a master of the art of war as it was then understood and practised.

The favour of the king was soon turned into a hatred as bitter as Henry's supine and not cruel nature was capable of: it seemed monstrous that a foreigner should be, not a courtier, but the popular idol—and Leicester was banished the court. He was afterwards entrusted with the government of Guienne, where, if he did not achieve the impossibility of giving entire satisfaction to the tur-

bulent and intriguing nobles, he did good service to the king, his master, and acquitted himself with ability and honour. Henry, however, was weak enough to listen to the complaints of some of his southern vassals, who did not relish the firm rule of the earl. Leicester was hastily recalled, and his master called him traitor to his face. Thus insulted by a man he despised, the earl gave the lie to his sovereign, and told him that, but for his kingly rank, he would make him repent the wrong he had done him.* This happened in 1252. Leicester withdrew for a season into France, but Henry was soon reconciled, in appearance, and the earl returned to England, where his popularity increased in proportion to the growing weakness and misgovernment of the king. He was one of the armed barons that met in Westminster Hall, and now he was ready to follow up those demonstrations at Oxford.

On the 11th of June the parliament, which the Royalists called the "Mad Parliament," met at Oxford. Having no reliance on the king, the great barons summoned all who owed them military service to attend in arms on the occasion. Thus secured from the attack of the foreigners in the king's pay, they proceeded to their object with great vigour and determination. The committee of government was appointed without a murmur on the part of the timid Henry: it consisted of twenty-four members, twelve of whom were chosen by the barons and twelve by the king. The king's choice fell upon his nephew Henry, the son of Richard, the titular King of the Romans, upon Guy and William, his own half-brothers, the Bishops of London and Winchester, the Earls of Warwick and Warenne, the Abbots of Westminster and St. Martin's, London, on John Mansel, a friar, and Peter of Savoy, a relation of the queen's. The members appointed by the barons were the Bishop of Worcester, the Earls Simon of Leicester, Richard of Gloucester, Humphrey of Hereford, Roger of Norfolk, earl marshal; the Lords Roger Mortimer, John Fitz-

* Matt. Par.

Geoffrey, Hugh Bigod, Richard de Grey, William Bardolf, Peter de Montfort, and Hugh Despencer. The Earl of Leicester was at the head of this supreme council, to the maintenance of whose ordinances the king, and afterwards his son Edward, took a solemn oath. The parliament then proceeded to enact that four knights should be chosen by the votes of the freeholders in each county, to lay before the parliament all breaches of law and justice that might occur; that a new sheriff should be annually chosen by the freeholders in each county; and that three sessions of parliament should be held regularly every year; the first, eight days after Michaelmas; the second, the morrow after Candlemas-day; and the third, on the 1st day of June.

The benefits derived from the acts of this parliament were prospective rather than immediate, for the first consequences were seven or eight years of anarchy and confusion, the fruits of insincerity and discontent on the part of the court, and of ambition and intrigue on the part of the great barons. Prince Edward, the heir to the throne, the Earl of Warenne, and others, took the oaths to the statutes or provisions of Oxford with unconcealed reluctance and ill-humour. Though their leaders were liberally included among the twenty-four guardians of the kingdom, the foreign faction was excessively dissatisfied with the recent changes, and said openly, and wherever they went, that the acts of Oxford ought to be set aside as illegal and degrading to the king's majesty. Irritated by their opposition and their secret intrigues, Leicester and his party scared the four half-brothers of the king and a herd of their relations and retainers out of the kingdom. The departure of these foreigners increased the popularity of the barons with the English people; but they were seduced by the temptations of ambition and an easy triumph over all opposition; they filled up the posts vacated in the committee of government with their own adherents, leaving scarcely a member in it to represent the king; and they finally lodged the whole authority of government in the hands of their council of state and a standing committee of twelve persons. This

great power was abused, as all unlimited power, whether held by a king or an oligarchy, or a democracy, ever will be, and the barons soon disagreed among themselves.*

A.D. 1259.—About six months after the meeting at Oxford, Richard, king of the Romans, having spent all his money among the Germans, was anxious to return to England that he might get more. At St. Omer he was met by a messenger from Leicester, who told him that he must not set foot in the kingdom unless he swore beforehand to observe the provisions of Oxford. Richard finally gave an ungracious assent: he took the oath, joined his brother, and immediately commenced organizing an opposition to the committee of government.† Soon after his arrival it was seen that the barons disagreed more than ever. The Earl of Gloucester started up as a rival to Leicester, and a violent quarrel—the first of many — broke out between these two powerful lords. Then there was presented a petition from the knights of shires or counties, complaining that the barons had held possession of the sovereign authority for eighteen months, and had done no good in the way of reform. A few improvements, chiefly regarding the administration of justice, were then enacted; but their slender amount did not satisfy the nation, and most of the barons were more anxious for the prolongation of their own powers and profits than for anything else. By degrees two factions were formed in the committee: when that of Gloucester obtained the ascendancy, Leicester withdrew into France. Then Gloucester would have reconciled himself with the king; but as soon as Prince Edward saw this he declared for Leicester, who returned. The manœuvres and intrigues of party now become almost as unintelligible as they are uninteresting — reconciliations and breaches between the Leicester and Gloucester factions, and then between the barons generally and the court—a changing and a changing again of sides and principles, perplex and disgrace a scene where nothing seems fixed

* Rymer.—Annal. Burt.—Matt. West. † Rymer.

except Leicester's dislike and distrust of the king, and a general but somewhat vague affection among the barons of both parties for the provisions of Magna Charta.

A.D. 1261.—Henry, who had long rejoiced at the division among the barons, now thought the moment was come for escaping from their authority. He had a papal dispensation in his pocket for the oaths he had taken at Oxford, and this set his conscience quite at ease. On the 2nd of February he ventured to tell the committee of government that, seeing the abuse they had made of their authority, he should henceforward govern without them. He then hastened to the Tower, which had recently been repaired and strengthened, and seized all the money in the Mint. From behind those strong walls he ordered that the gates of London should be closed, and that all the citizens should swear fresh fealty to him. The barons called out their vassals and marched upon the capital. Prince Edward was amusing himself in France, at a tournament, and it was agreed by both parties to await his arrival. He came in haste, and, instead of joining his father in the Tower, joined the barons. In spite of this junction, or perhaps we ought rather to say, in consequence of it, many of the nobles went over and joined the king, who published the pope's bull of dispensation, together with a manifesto in which he set forth that he had reigned forty-five years in peace and according to justice, never committing such deeds of wrong and violence as the barons had recently committed. For a time he met with success, and Leicester returned once more to France, vowing that he would never trust the faith of a perjured king.*

A.D. 1263.—Another change and shifting of parts now took place in this troubled drama: the Earl of Gloucester was dead, and his son, a very young man, instead of being the rival became for a while the bosom friend of Leicester. Prince Edward, on the other hand, veered round to the court, and had made himself unpopular by calling in a foreign guard. In the month of March

* M. West.—Wykes.—Carte.

young Gloucester called his retainers and confederates together at Oxford, and the Earl of Leicester returned to England in the month of April, and put himself at their head. The great earl at once raised the banner of war, and after taking several royal castles and towns, marched rapidly upon London, where the mayor and the common people declared for him. The king was safe in the Tower; Prince Edward fled to Windsor Castle; and the queen, his mother, attempted to escape by water in the same direction; but, when she approached London-bridge, a cry ran among the populace, who hated her, of "Drown the witch!" and filth and stones were thrown at the barge. The mayor took pity on her, and carried her for safety to St. Paul's.*

The King of the Romans contrived to effect a hollow reconciliation between the barons and his unwarlike brother, who yielded everything,—only reserving to himself the usual resource of breaking his compact as soon as circumstances should seem favourable. It is true his subjects had repeatedly exacted too much; but it is equally certain that he never made the smallest concession to them in good faith, and with a determination of repecting it. Foreigners were once more banished the kingdom, and the custody of the royal castles was again entrusted to Leicester and his associates. This was done, and peace and amity were sworn in July, but by the month of October the king was in arms against the barons, and nearly succeeded in taking Leicester a prisoner. This new crisis was mainly attributable to a condition exacted by that great earl, that the authority of the committee of government should not only last for the lifetime of the king, but be prolonged during the reign of his successor. Up to this point Prince Edward had pretended a great respect for his oath, professing to doubt whether an absolution from Rome could excuse perjury; and he had frequently protested that, having sworn to the provisions of Oxford, he would religiously keep that vow; but this last measure removed all his scruples, and de-

* Wykes.—West.—Trivet.—Chron. Dunst.

nouncing the barons as rebels, traitors, and usurpers, he openly declared against them and all their statutes.

A.D. 1264.—To stop the horrors of a civil war some of the bishops induced both parties to refer their differences to the arbitration of the French king. The conscientious and justice-loving Louis IX. pronounced his award in the beginning of February: he insisted on the observance of the great charter; but otherwise his decision was in favour of the king, as he set aside the provisions of Oxford, ordered that the royal castles should be restored, and that the sovereign should have full power of choosing his own ministers and officers, whether from among foreigners or natives. The barons, who were better acquainted than Louis with the character of their king, well knew, that if the securities they had exacted (with too grasping a hand, perhaps) were all given up, the provisions of the national charters would be despised, as they were previously to the parliament of Oxford, and they therefore resolved not to be bound by the award, which they insisted had been obtained through the unfair influence of the wife of Louis, who was sister-in-law to King Henry. The civil war was therefore renewed with more fury than ever. The strength of the royalists lay in the counties of the north and the extreme west,—that of the barons in the midland counties, the south-east, the Cinque Ports, and, above all, in the city of London and its neighbourhood. At the tolling of the great bell of St. Paul's, the citizens of London assembled as an armed host, animated by one daring spirit. In the midst of this excitement they fell upon the unfortunate Jews, and, after plundering them, massacred above 500, men, women, and children, in cold blood. In other parts of the kingdom the royalists robbed and murdered the Jews under pretext of their being friends to the barons, and the barons' party did the like, alleging that they were allied with the king, and that they kept Greek fire hid in their houses in order to destroy the friends of liberty.*

* Wykes.—West.—Dunst.

The opening of the campaign was in favour of the royalists, but their fortunes changed when they advanced to the southern coast and endeavoured to win over the powerful Cinque Ports. Leicester, who had remained quietly in London organising his forces, at length marched from the capital with the resolution of fighting a decisive battle. He found the king at Lewes, in Sussex, —a bad position, in a hollow,—which Henry, relying on his superiority of numbers, did not quit on the earl's approach. Leicester encamped on the downs about two miles from Lewes. On the following morning, the 14th of May, leaving a strong reserve on the downs, he descended into the hollow. The two armies soon joined battle: on the king's side were the great houses of Bigod and Bohun, all the foreigners in the kingdom, the Percys with their warlike borderers, and from beyond the borders, John Comyn, John Baliol, and Robert Bruce,—names that were soon to appear in a very different drama. On the earl's side were Gloucester, Derby, Warenne, the Despencers, Robert de Roos, William Marmion, Richard Grey, John Fitz-John, Nicholas Seagrave, Godfrey de Lucy, John de Vescy, and others of noble lineage and great estates. Prince Edward, who was destined to acquire the rudiments of war in the slaughter of his own subjects, began the battle by falling desperately upon a body of Londoners, who had gladly followed Leicester to the field. This burgher militia could not stand against the trained cavalry of the prince, who chased and slew them by heaps. Eager to take a bloody vengeance for the insults the Londoners had offered his mother, Edward spurred forward, regardless of the manœuvres of the other divisions of the royalist army. He was as yet a young soldier, and the experienced and skilful leader of the barons made him pay dearly for his mistake. Leicester made a concentrated attack on the king, beat him most completely, and took him prisoner, with his brother the King of the Romans, John Comyn, and Robert Bruce, before the prince returned from his headlong pursuit. When Edward arrived at the field of battle, he saw it covered with the slain of his

own party, and learned that his father with many nobles besides those just mentioned, were in Leicester's hands, and shut up in the priory of Lewes. Before he could recover himself, he was charged by a body of horse, and made prisoner. The Earl Warenne, with the king's half-brothers who were again in England, fled to Pevensey, whence they escaped to the continent.* The victory of the barons does not seem to have been disgraced by cruelty, but it is said to have cost the lives of more than 5000 Englishmen, who fell on the field. On the following morning, a treaty, or the "*Mise* of Lewes," as it was called, was concluded. It was agreed that Edward and his cousin Henry, the son of the King of the Romans, should remain as hostages for their fathers, and that the whole quarrel should be again submitted to a peaceful arbitration. But Leicester, who had now the right of the strongest, kept both the king and his brother prisoners as well as their sons, and, feeling his own greatness, began to be less tractable. Although the pope excommunicated him and his party, the people regarded the sentence with indifference; and many of the native clergy, who had long been disgusted both with pope and king, praised him in their sermons as the reformer of abuses, the protector of the oppressed, the father of the poor, the saviour of his country, the avenger of the church. Thus supported, and indeed carried forward by a boundless popularity, he soon forced all such barons as held out for the king to surrender their castles and submit to the judgment of their peers. These men were condemned merely to short periods of exile in Ireland: not one suffered death, or chains, or forfeiture. Every act of government was still performed in the name of the king, whose captivity was made so light as to be scarcely apparent, and who was treated with every outward demonstration of respect. The queen had retired to the continent before the battle of Lewes, and having busied herself in collecting a host of foreign mercenaries, she now lay at Damme, in Flanders, almost ready to cross

* Matt. Par.—Wykes.—West.—Chron. Dunst.

over and renew the civil war. The steps taken by Leicester show at once his entire confidence in the good-will of the nation, and his personal bravery and activity: he summoned the whole force of the country, from castles and towns, cities, and boroughs, to meet in arms on Barham Downs, and having encamped them there, he threw himself among the mariners of England, and, taking the command of a fleet, cruised between the English and Flemish coasts to meet the invaders at sea. But the queen's fleet never ventured out of port; her land forces disbanded, and that enterprise fell to the ground.

The ruin of Leicester was effected by very different means: confident in his talents and popularity, he ventured to display too marked a superiority above his fellows in the same cause: this excited hostile feelings in several of the barons, whose jealousies and pretensions were skilfully worked upon by Prince Edward, who had by this time been removed from Dover Castle, into which he had been thrown after the battle of Lewes, and placed with his father, in the enjoyment of considerable personal liberty, by the order of a parliament which Leicester had summoned expressly to consider his case in the beginning of the present year (1265), and which is memorable in the history of the constitution as the first in which we have certain evidence of the appearance of representatives from the cities and boroughs. The Earl of Derby opened a correspondence with the prince, and the Earl of Gloucester set himself up as a rival to Montfort, and then, by means of his brother, Thomas de Clare, who had been placed about the prince's person, concerted a plan for releasing Edward. This plan was successful; and on Thursday in Whitsun week the prince escaped on a fleet horse which had been conveyed to him, and joined the Earl of Gloucester at Ludlow, where the royal banner was raised. The prince was made to swear that he would respect the charters, govern according to law, and expel foreigners; and it was upon these express conditions that Gloucester surrendered to him the command of the troops. This earl was a vain, weak, young man, but his jealous fury against Leicester could not

blind him to the obvious fact that but few of the nobility would make any sacrifices for the royal cause unless their attachment to constitutional liberty were gratified by such pledges.

About the same time Earl Warenne, who had escaped from the battle of Lewes, landed in South Wales with one hundred and twenty knights and a troop of archers; and other royalist chiefs rose in different parts of the country, according to a plan which seems to have been suggested by the military sagacity of Prince Edward. The Earl of Leicester, keeping good hold of the king, remained at Hereford, while his eldest son, Simon de Montfort, with a part of his army, was in Sussex. The object of the prince was to prevent the junction of these separated forces, and to keep the earl on the right bank of the Severn. Edward destroyed all the bridges and boats on that river, and secured the fords; but, after some skilful manœuvres, the earl crossed the Severn, and encamped near Worcester, where he expected his son would join him. But Simon's conduct in war was not equal to his father's, for he allowed himself to be surprised by night near Kenilworth, where Edward took his horses and treasure, and most of his knights, and forced him to take refuge, almost naked, in the castle there, the principal residence of the de Montfort family. The earl, still hoping to meet his son's forces, advanced to Evesham, on the river Avon: on the morning of the 4th of August, as he looked towards the hills in the direction of Kenilworth, he saw his own standards advancing:—his joy, however, was but momentary, for he discovered, when too late to retreat, that they were his son's banners in the hands of his enemies, and nearly at the same time he saw the heads of columns showing themselves on either flank and in his rear. These well-conceived combined movements had been executed with unusual precision,—the earl was surrounded,—every road was blocked up. As he observed the skilful way in which the hostile forces were disposed, he uttered the complaint so often used by old generals,—"They have learned from me the art of war," he exclaimed; and

then, it is said, he added, "The Lord have mercy on our souls, for I see our bodies are Prince Edward's." He did not, however, neglect the duties of the commander, but marshalled his men in the best manner. He then spent a short time in prayer, and took the sacrament, as was his wont, before going into battle. Having failed in an attempt to force the road to Kenilworth, he formed in a solid circle on the summit of a hill, and several times repulsed the charges of his foes, who gradually closed round him, attacking at all points. The king being in the earl's camp when the royalists appeared, was encased in armour which concealed his features, and was put upon a war-horse. In one of the charges the imbecile old man was dismounted and in danger of being slain, but he cried out, "Hold your hand, I am Harry of Winchester;" and the prince, who happened to be near, ran to his rescue, and carried him out of the *melée*. Leicester's horse was killed under him, but the earl rose unhurt from his fall, and fought bravely on foot: a body of Welsh were broken and fled, and the number of his enemies still seemed to increase on all sides. He then asked the royalists if they gave quarter? and was told that there was no quarter for traitors: his gallant son Henry was killed before his eyes, the bravest and best of his friends fell in heaps around him, and at last the great earl himself died with his sword in his hand.*

The hatred of the royalists was too much inflamed to admit of the humanities and usages of chivalry: no prisoners were taken; the slaughter, usually confined to the "meaner sort," who could not pay ransom, was extended to the noblest and wealthiest; and all the barons and knights of Leicester's party, to the number of one hundred and eighty, were despatched.†

After the decisive victory of Evesham, the king,

* Contin. Matt. Par.—M. West.—Chron. Mailros.—Chron. Dunst.

† Some ten or a dozen knights who were found breathing, after the carnage, were permitted to live, or, at least, to have that chance of living which their wounds allowed.

resuming the sceptre, went to Warwick, where he was joined by his brother the King of the Romans, who, with many other prisoners taken by Leicester at Lewes, now first recovered his liberty. Early in the next month, on the "Feast of the Translation of St. Edward," a parliament assembled at Winchester. Here it was seen that, even in the moment of success, the king could not venture to revoke any part of the great charter. His victory had been achieved by the arms of English barons, who, generally speaking, had concurred in the former measures against his faithless government, and whose opposition to the Earl of Leicester's too great power, had in no sense weakened their love of constitutional safeguards, or their hatred of an absolute king. Led away, however, by personal animosities, the parliament of Winchester passed some severe sentences against the family and partisans of the late earl, and deprived the citizens of London of their charter.

A desperate resistance was thus provoked, and successive insurrections broke out in different parts of the kingdom. Simon de Montfort and his associates maintained themselves for a long time in the isles of Ely and Axholm; the Cinque Ports refused to submit; the castle of Kenilworth defied several royal armies; and Adam Gourdon, a most warlike baron, maintained himself in the forests of Hampshire. Prince Edward's valour and ability had full occupation for nearly two years, and at last it was found necessary to relax the severity of government, and grant easier terms to the vanquished, in order to obtain the restoration of internal tranquillity. With this view, a committee was appointed of twelve bishops and barons, and their award, called the "Dictum de Kenilworth," was confirmed by the king and parliament. The Earl of Gloucester, whose personal quarrel with Leicester had been the chief cause of the overthrow of the baronial oligarchy, and the restoration of Henry, quarrelled with the king, and once more took up arms, alleging, that even the Dictum de Kenilworth was too harsh, and that the court was seeking to infringe the provisions of Oxford, and breaking the

promises given on the field of Evesham. The dissatisfied Londoners made common cause with him, and received him within their walls; but losing heart at the approach of the king's army, Gloucester opened negotiations, and submitted, on condition of receiving a full pardon for himself. At the same time, the Londoners compounded for a fine of 25,000 marks. The pope most laudably laboured to diffuse the spirit of mercy and moderation; and the gallantry and generosity shown by Prince Edward, on one occasion, did more in subduing opposition than a hundred executions on the scaffold could have done. In a battle fought in a wood near Alton, the prince engaged Adam Gourdon hand to hand, and vanquished that redoubtable knight in fair single combat. When Adam was brought to the ground, instead of despatching him, he generously gave him his life: on that very night he introduced him to the queen at Guilford, procured him his pardon, received him into his own especial favour, and was from that time forward most faithfully served by Sir Adam.*

A.D. 1267.—On the 18th of November, two years and three months after the battle of Evesham, the king, in parliament at Marlborough, adopted some of the most valuable of the provisions of the Earl of Leicester, and enacted other good laws. Thus all resistance was disarmed, and the patriots or the outlaws in the Isle of Ely, who were the last to submit, threw down their arms, and accepted the conditions of the Dictum of Kenilworth. As soon as the country was thoroughly tranquillised, Prince Edward and his cousin Henry took the cross; in which they were followed by nearly one hundred and fifty English lords and knights.

Having taken many precautionary measures in case his father should die during his absence, and having most wisely obtained the grant of a new charter, with the restoration of their liberties, to the citizens of London, and a free pardon to a few nobles who still lay under the king's ban, Edward departed with his wife Eleanor, his

* Contin. Matt. Par.

cousin Henry, and his knights, in the month of July, 1270. Many of the choicest chivalry of England left their bones to bleach on the Syrian shore; but the fate of Henry d'Almaine, as they called the son of the King of the Romans, was more tragical as well as much more unusual. He was assassinated in a church at Viterbo, in Italy, by his two cousins, Simon and Guy de Montfort, who, with their mother, the Countess of Leicester, King Henry's own sister, had been driven out of England, and who considered the King of the Romans as the bitterest enemy of their house. That vain old man, the King of the Romans, was rejoicing in the possession or display of a young German bride, and was still flattering himself with the hopes of the imperial crown, when the melancholy catastrophe of his son reminded him of the vanity of human wishes. He did not long survive the shock: he died in the month of December, 1271; and in the following winter his brother, the King of England, followed him to the grave, expiring at Westminster, after a long illness and great demonstrations of piety, on the feast of St. Edmund, the 16th of November, 1272. Henry had lived sixty-eight years, and had been fifty-six years a king—at least in name.

END OF VOLUME III.

London: Printed by WILLIAM CLOWES & SONS, Stamford Street.

AGINCOURT
THE
CABINET
History
OF
England
VOL. III.
HENRY IV
RICHARD III

THE

CABINET

HISTORY OF ENGLAND;

BEING

AN ABRIDGMENT, BY THE AUTHOR,

OF THE CHAPTERS ENTITLED "CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY" IN "THE PICTORIAL HISTORY OF ENGLAND," WITH A CONTINUATION TO THE PRESENT TIME.

BY CHARLES MAC FARLANE.

VOLUME IV.

LONDON:
CHARLES KNIGHT AND CO., LUDGATE STREET.
1845.

LONDON:
Printed by WILLIAM CLOWES and SONS,
Stamford Street.

CONTENTS.

BOOK IV.—*Continued.*

A.D. 1270—1340.

CHAPTER I.—*Continued.*

	Page
Edward I., surnamed Longshanks	5
Edward II., surnamed of Caernarvon . . .	84
Edward III.	117
Richard II., surnamed of Bordeaux . . .	175

CHAPTER II.

The History of Religion	207

BOOK V.

CHAPTER I.

Henry IV., surnamed Bolingbroke	218

CABINET
HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BOOK IV.—*Continued.*

A.D. 1270—1340.

CHAPTER I.—*Continued.*

EDWARD I., SURNAMED LONGSHANKS.

FROM the Abbey Church of Westminster the barons, who had attended his father's funeral, went to the new Temple and proclaimed the absent Edward by the style of "King of England, Lord of Ireland, and Duke of Aquitaine." This was on Sunday, the 20th of November, four days after the demise of Henry. A new great seal was made; Walter de Merton was appointed chancellor; Walter Gifford, Archbishop of York, the Earl of Cornwall, a surviving son of Richard, King of the Romans, and the Earl of Gloucester, assumed conjointly the office of guardians or regents of the kingdom, and such wise measures were taken that the public peace was in no way disturbed; and the accession of Edward, though he was far away, and exposed to the chances of war and shipwreck, was more tranquil than that of any preceding king since the Conquest.

When Edward departed on the crusade he found that the French king, instead of sailing for Syria or Palestine, had turned aside to attack the Mussulman king or Bey of Tunis. The kings of Sicily had some old claims to tribute from this African state, and the Italian crown, after hovering over the heads of so many princes,

had at last settled on that of Charles of Anjou, who, with the assistance of the pope, won it from Manfred, the illegitimate Suabian, at the battle of the Grandella, fought near Benevento, in the year 1266. This Charles was the ferocious, unworthy brother of the amiable Louis IX.; and it is generally supposed that, for his own selfish ambition and interests, he craftily induced the French king to turn his arms against Tunis; though it is also probable that the exaggerated accounts of the wealth of that city acted as a strong temptation with the crusaders in general. Louis landed on the African shore in the midst of summer, and took the camp and town of Carthage; but the excessive heat of the climate, the want of provisions, and even of wholesome water, and pestilential miasmata from bogs and swamps, soon caused dreadful maladies among his host. The king himself was attacked by a fatal dysentery, and he laid himself down to die among the ruins and fragments of ancient Carthage.

When Prince Edward arrived, he found that Louis was dead, and that more than half of his army had perished by disease. The survivors had, however, made advantageous terms with the Bey of Tunis, and showed little inclination to leave that country and encounter fresh dangers in Palestine. The English then re-crossed the Mediterranean to Sicily (a short voyage of 150 miles); but Edward would not renounce his project, or return home. He passed the winter at Trapani, vowing that, though all his soldiers should desert him, he would go to Acre attended only by Fowen, his groom. Early in the following spring he set sail from Sicily, and he landed at Acre, which was now almost the only residue of the crusaders' conquests in the East, with a force which did not exceed a thousand men. But the fame of Richard was still bright on those shores; and, while the Mahommedans trembled, the Christians gathered round the standard of the successor of Lion-heart, to whom Edward was scarcely inferior in physical strength and courage, while he was his superior in coolness and policy. Bondocar, the Sultan of Babylon, who had prepared to take that

city by assault, immediately retreated from the vicinity of Acre, and, crossing the desert, went into Egypt. Edward advanced, and obtained temporary possession of Nazareth, which was taken by storm. The prince, and many of the English with him, were soon after attacked with sickness, and returned to Acre, where they lingered some fifteen months, doing little or nothing; for the first enthusiasm among the Latin Christians had subsided upon seeing that Edward had scarcely any money, and received no reinforcements. The English chivalry distinguished itself by many feats of arms, and revived the glory of the national name; but, after all, the only other solid advantages gained were the capture of two castles and the surprise and partial plunder of a caravan. The Mahommedans were not strong enough to attack Acre, which, chiefly by Edward's means, was so strengthened as to be enabled to defy them for twenty years longer, when the Mamelukes of Egypt took it and drove the crusaders and their descendants from every part of the Holy Land. Edward on his side was always too weak to attempt any extensive operations. His presence, however, both annoyed and distressed the Turks, and an attempt was made to get rid of him by assassination. The Emir of Jaffa, under pretence of embracing the Christian religion, opened a correspondence with the English prince, and gradually gained his confidence. The emir sent letters and presents, till his messengers were allowed to pass and repass without examination or suspicion. On the Friday of Whitsun week, about the hour of vespers, as Edward was reclining on a couch, with nothing on him but a loose robe, the emir's messenger made his usual salam at the door of his apartment: he was admitted; and as he knelt and presented a letter with one hand, he drew a concealed dagger with the other, and aimed a blow at the prince's heart. Edward, though wounded, caught the murderer in his iron grasp, threw him to the ground, and despatched him with his own weapon. The prince's wound was not deep, but the dagger had been smeared with poison: when he learned this fact, he made his will, and gave himself up as lost. The English

soldiers would have taken a horrid vengeance upon the poor Turks in their power, but he restrained their fury, and made them reflect on what might befal the helpless Christian pilgrims then at Jerusalem. Fortunately there was at Acre an English surgeon with skill and nerve enough to pare away the sides of the wound; and the Grand Master of the Templars sent some precious drugs to stop the progress of the venom. The piety, the affectionate attentions of his loving wife Eleanor may have contributed very effectually to his cure, but there is no good ground for believing that she sucked the poison from her husband's wound.*

Henry had already implored his son to return to England, and now Edward gladly listened to proposals of peace made by the sultan, who was so much engaged with other wars in the interior as to have little time to spare for the prosecution of hostilities on the coast. A truce was therefore concluded for ten years, and then Edward sailed again for Sicily. Theobald, Archdeacon of Liege, who had accompanied the prince to Palestine, had been recalled some months before from Acre to fill the vacant chair of St. Peter. At Trapani, Edward received an earnest invitation from this old companion and steadfast friend, now Gregory X., to visit him at Rome. The prince crossed the Faro of Messina to travel by land through the Italian peninsula. At a mountain village in Calabria he met messengers, by whom he was informed, for the first time, of the death of his father. By the month of February, 1273, he was at Rome, but his friend the pope being absent, he stayed only two days in the Eternal City, and then turned aside to Civita Vecchia, where the pope received him with honour and affection. Edward demanded justice on the assassins of Henry d'Almaine; but Simon de Montfort, one of them, had

* Hemingford.—Chron. Pepini in Muratori.—Matt. West. —Wykes. The story of Eleanor's sucking the wound is not mentioned by any chronicler living near the time. It seems to be of Spanish origin, and to have been first mentioned a century or two after the time.

gone to account for his crimes before a higher tribunal; and as Guy de Montfort had absconded, the King of England was obliged to be satisfied with a very imperfect vengeance. Leaving the pontiff, he continued his journey through Italy, and he was received in triumph at every town. The admiring Milanese presented him with some fine horses and purple mantles. His exploits in Palestine, limited as they had been, had gained him the reputation of being the Champion of the Cross; the dangerous wound he had received (if he had died of it he would have been enrolled among saints and martyrs) created an additional sympathy in his favour, and, as if people knew he would be the last king to embark in the crusades, he was hailed with extraordinary enthusiasm. On crossing the Alps, Edward was met by a deputation from England. He travelled on to Paris, where he was courteously received by his cousin, Philip le Hardi, and did homage to that king for the lands which he held in France.

Notwithstanding the tranquil state of the country, and the loyal disposition of his subjects, it must excite some surprise to see, that after so long an absence, Edward had no anxiety to reach England.* Instead of crossing the Channel, he turned back from Paris, where he had stayed a fortnight, and went to Guienne. The motives generally assigned for his protracted stay on the continent are, his wish to await the decisions of a general council of the church, which the pope had summoned to meet at Lyons, and the distracted state of Guienne, or Aquitaine, which province seems never to have been tranquil for a year at a time. But it is pretty evident that the English king entertained suspicions of Philip,

* He had written letters expressing some fear of the Londoners, and had several times commanded the "mayor, sheriffs, and commons" most carefully to keep the peace of the city. The measures adopted in consequence were more vigorous than legal. All persons suspected of having been partisans of the Earl of Leicester were hunted down in every ward, and, without form of trial or examination, thrown into prison till Edward's return.

who was a far less conscientious sovereign than his father, Louis IX., who had been severely blamed by the French for not taking advantage of the weakness of Henry III. to drive the English out of all their continental possessions. The dark shadows of some deep and disgraceful intrigues are visible; and it seems to us, that when the pope warned Edward against the swords of the assassins, he did not apprehend danger from the ruined and fugitive Guy de Montfort, so much as from more prosperous and more powerful agents. In the month of May, 1274, while the English king was in Guienne, he received a challenge, couched in all the nice terms and circumlocutions of chivalry, from the Count of Chalons, to meet him lance to lance in a tournament. This fashion was then at its height, and knights and nobles of high renown and princes royal were accustomed to defy each other in the name of God, of the blessed Virgin Mary, and of their respective saints and mistresses, and to invite one another, out of love and reverence, to joustings and tiltings, which often terminated in blood and death or fractured limbs. Edward considered himself bound in honour as a true knight to accept the count's challenge, and on the appointed day he entered the lists, as stalwart and fearless a combatant as ever sat in saddle. He was attended by a thousand champions; but the Count of Chalons rode to the spot with nearly two thousand. Whispers of bad faith on the part of the count had already been heard, and the sight of this unfair advantage probably confirmed the worst suspicions of the English. The image of war was converted into its stern reality—a sanguinary battle ensued, in which the foot-soldiers took part as well as the knights. The English crossbow-men drove the French infantry from the field, and then mixing with the English horse, who were far outnumbered by their opponents, they overthrew many of the count's knights by stabbing their horses or cutting their saddle-girths — two operations against all rule, and deemed infamous in the code of chivalry. The count himself, a man renowned for his physical strength, after charging Edward several times with his lance, rode in,

and grasping the king round the neck, endeavoured to unseat him. Edward sate like a rock, and gave the proper touch with the spur;—his war-horse sprang forward, the count was pulled out of his saddle, and hurled to the ground with a dreadful shock. He was remounted by some of his knights; but, sorely bruised and stupefied by his fall, he cried out for quarter. Edward was so enraged that he kept hammering on the iron armour of his suppliant foe for some time, and at last rejected his sword, and made him surrender to a common foot-soldier —an extremity of disgrace which a true knight would have avoided at the cost of life. The English had the best of the affray, taking many knights, who were obliged to ransom their persons, their arms, and their horses (where any were left alive), and *slaying* many of the French footmen—"because they were but rascals, and no great account was made of them."*

A.D. 1274.—Edward now turned his thoughts towards England, and sent orders to prepare for his coronation. If these orders were obeyed, the coronation-feast must have been a sublime specimen of a well-loaded table; for 380 head of cattle, 430 sheep, 450 pigs, 18 wild boars, 278 flitches of bacon, and 19,660 capons and fowls, were ordered by the king for this solemn occasion.† As he travelled through France, Edward stopped at the pleasant town of Montreuil, to settle some differences which had long existed between the English and Flemings, and which had seriously committed the commercial interests of both countries.

On the 2nd of August, 1274, after an absence of more than four years, Edward landed at Dover, and on the 19th of the same month, "after the feast of the Assumption," he was crowned, together with his high-minded wife, in Westminster Abbey. The nation was proud of the valour and fame of their king, who was now in the prime of mature manhood, being in his thirty-sixth year; and the king had good reason to be proud of the affection, loyalty, and prosperity of the nation.

The government, however, was poor and embarrassed,

* Hemings.—West.—Trivet.—Holinshed. † Rymer.

and, in spite of all pretexts, this circumstance seems to have been the real whetstone of the animosity which Edward showed immediately after his accession to one class of his subjects,—the unhappy Jews. The rest of the nation were now tolerably well protected from arbitrary spoliation by the great charter and the power of parliaments; but the miserable Israelites, considered unworthy of a participation in the laws and rights of a Christian people, were left naked to oppression, no hand or tongue being raised in their defence, and the mass of the people rejoicing in their ruin. As a zealous crusader, Edward detested all unbelievers, and his religious antipathies went hand-in-hand with his rapacity, and probably justified its excesses in his own eyes. The coin had been clipped and adulterated for many years, and the king chose to consider the Jews as the sole or chief authors of this crime.* To bring a Jew before a Christian tribunal was almost the same thing as to sign his death-warrant. Two hundred and eighty of both sexes were hanged in London alone, and many victims also suffered in every other town where they resided. As it was so common, clipped money might be found upon every person in the kingdom; but once discovered in the possession of an Israelite, it was taken as an irrefragable proof of guilt. The houses and the whole property of every Jew that suffered went to the crown, which thus had an interest in multiplying the number of convictions. Even before these judicial proceedings, the king prohibited the Jews from taking interest for money lent, from building synagogues, and buying lands or any free tenements. He put a capitation or poll-tax upon them, similar to the kharatch which the grand-seignior exacts from his Christian subjects: he set a distinctive and odious badge upon their dress, that they might be known from all others,—another Turkish custom, which in its time has been the cause of infinite suffering. Thirteen years later, when Edward was engaged in expensive foreign wars,

* A few Christians were afterwards punished for the same offence.

and the parliament, in ill humour thereat, stinted his supplies, he ordered the seizure of every Jew in England; and on an appointed day, men, women, and children,—every living creature in whose veins the ancient blood of the tribes was known or supposed to flow,—were brutally arrested and cast into loathsome dungeons. There seems to have been no parity of justice on this occasion, and the Jews purchased their enlargement by a direct payment of the sum of 12,000*l.* to the king. Edward might have continued to make good use of them from time to time in this manner, as most of his predecessors had done, but his fanaticism overcame his avidity for money, or, probably, he wanted a large sum at once, for he was now in the midst of his scheme for the subjugation of Scotland, and had just married two of his daughters. It was in the year 1290, soon after the sitting of a parliament at Westminster, that his proclamation went forth commanding all the Jews, under the penalty of death, to quit the kingdom for ever, within the space of two months. Their total number was considerable, for, though long robbed and persecuted in England, they had, notwithstanding, increased and multiplied, and their condition in the other countries of Christendom being still worse than here, the stream of emigration had set pretty constantly from the opposite side of the Channel. Sixteen thousand five hundred and eleven individuals received the king's pass, with the gracious permission to carry with them as much of their ready money as would pay the immediate expenses of their voyage. Houses, lands, merchandise, treasures, debts owing to them, with their bonds, their tallies and obligations, were all seized by the king. The mariners of London, and the inhabitants of the Cinque Ports generally, who were as bigoted as the king, and thought it no sin to be as rapacious towards the accursed Jews, robbed many of them of the small pittance left them, and drowned not a few during their passage. Some few mariners were convicted and suffered capital punishment; for the king, to use the keen sarcasm of Hume, was determined to be the sole plunderer in his dominions.

Contemporaneously with these shameful proceedings against the Jews, Edward enacted many just and wise laws for his Christian subjects. The nature of his reforms shows the extent of the evil that had existed: in 1299, all the judges of the land were indicted for bribery, and only two of the number were acquitted; the chief justice of the Court of King's Bench was convicted of instigating his servants to commit murder, and of protecting them against the law after the offence; the chief baron of the Exchequer was imprisoned and heavily fined, and so was Sir Ralph de Hengham, the grand justiciary. But perhaps in some of these cases we shall not greatly err if we deduct from the delinquency of the accused, and allow something for the arbitrary will of the accuser. It is known that the king was in great want of money, when, as the consequence of their condemnation, he exacted about 80,000 marks from the judges. In recovering, or attempting to recover, such parts of the royal domain as had been encroached upon, and in examining the titles by which some of the great barons held their estates, he roused a spirit which might have proved fatal to him had he not prudently stopped in time. When his commissioners asked Earl Warenne to show his titles, the Earl drew his sword and said,—"By this instrument do I hold my lands, and by the same I intend to defend them! Our ancestors, coming into this realm with William the Bastard, acquired their possessions by their good swords." Such title-deeds were not to be disputed; but there were other cases where men wore less powerful swords, and where written deeds and grants from the crown had been lost or destroyed during the convulsions of the country; and Edward seized some manors and estates, and made their owners redeem them by large sums of money. There was much bad faith in these proceedings, but, as the king chose his victims with much prudence, no insurrection was excited.

We must now retrace our steps, to take a regular view of this king's great operations in war. Edward was to the full as ambitious and fond of conquest as any prince of the Norman or Plantagenet line; but, instead of ex-

pending his power in foreign wars, he husbanded it for the grand plan of reducing the whole of the island of Great Britain under his immediate and undivided sway. He employed the claim of feudal superiority—a right most difficult to define, even if its existence had been admitted—with final success against Wales; and though, with regard to Scotland, it eventually failed, the ruin of his scheme there did not happen until after his death, and he felt for a time the proud certainty of having defeated every opponent. If the acknowledgment of the paramount authority of the English kings, extracted from unsuccessful princes, justified a forcible seizure of territory against the wishes of the people, Edward may be acknowledged to have had that right over Wales. Setting aside the somewhat doubtful vassalage of the Welsh principalities to our Saxon kings, on which the Norman conquerors impudently founded a pretension, as being the lawful heirs to those kings, we have repeated instances of a seeming submission, when the princes purchased peace by engaging to pay certain tributes, and to recognise the suzerainty of the English throne. When a weak state stood in this relation with a strong one, the feudal supremacy implied an almost unlimited right of interference and control; but when the relation existed between two states of equal power, it meant little or nothing beyond a mere ceremony. Thus the kings of England, as vassals to the sovereigns of France for their territories on the continent, had for a long time defied the authority of their liege lords, after making them tremble in Paris, their own capital. Those other nominal vassals, the great Dukes of Burgundy, although they had no separate sovereignty like the Normans and Plantagenets, repeatedly followed the same course. The forfeiture pronounced against John was generally considered as an unjustifiable stretch of the rights of supremacy, but it was well timed—it was directed against one who had made himself universally odious, and whose continental subjects, for the most part, at this crisis, preferred a union with France to their old connexion with England. The nature of Edward's right is scarcely de-

serving of a further examination—had no such claims existed, he would have invented others—for he was determined on the conquest of the country, and internal dissensions and other circumstances favoured the enterprise. The expediency of the measure, and the advantages that have resulted from it, ought not to make us indifferent to the fate of a brave people who were fighting for their independence. The Anglo-Normans, who had been gradually encroaching on the territory for two hundred years, accused the poor Welsh of cruelty and perfidy—forgetting that they were themselves the aggressors, and had been guilty of treachery the most manifold, and of cruelties the most atrocious. Since the beginning of the reign of Henry II., civilization had advanced in the rich champaign of England, and had, from the circumstances in which the country was placed, retrograded in Wales; but there are Welsh writers of the time who trace in that land the most interesting picture of an hospitable and generous race of men, full of the elements of poetry, and passionately fond of their wild native music. Though chiefly a pastoral people, they were not rude or clownish. "All the Welsh," says Giraldus Cambrensis, "without any exception, from the highest to the lowest, are ready and free in speech, and have great confidence in replying even to princes and magnates." The mass of the nation, however, notwithstanding this partial refinement, was poor, and but rudely clad, as compared with their English contemporaries. Seldom has even a race of mountaineers made a longer or more gallant stand for liberty. When the sword of slaughter had passed over them to smite no more,—when better times and better feelings came, though, as less numerous and far more exposed, they had been less fortunate than the Scots, their valour entitled them to the same admiration and sympathy; and perhaps the high national character of the united kingdom of Great Britain may be in part owing to the fact, that no one portion of it fell an easy or degraded conquest to the other.

At the time of Edward's aggression, the principality of North Wales was still almost untouched by English

arms; but the conquerors had established themselves in Monmouthshire, and held a somewhat uncertain and frequently disturbed possession of a good part of South Wales. This occupation had been effected very gradually by the great barons who had made incursions at their own expense and with their own retainers. These lords were rewarded with the lands they gained from the Welsh. As they advanced, they raised chains of fortifications, building their castles sufficiently near to communicate with and support each other. Thus, in Monmouthshire, a regular chain of fortresses was occupied on the banks of the Monnow, the Wye, and the Severn. A second line stretched diagonally from Grosmont on the Monnow to the banks of the Rumney. In addition to these strong fortresses, many smaller castles were constructed for the purpose of keeping the natives in awe. The more advanced posts were often re-taken, and the day when one of these castles was destroyed was held by the Welsh, who foresaw the consequences of this gradual advance, as a day of universal joy, on which the father, who had just lost his only son, ought to forget his misfortune. But still the chains were drawn more and more closely around them by the persevering invaders; and, since the conquest of Ireland, extraordinary pains had been taken to secure the whole of the line through South Wales to Milford Haven, the usual place of embarkation for the sister island. In the wilderness of the Tivy, and in many of the more inaccessible moors, marshes, and mountains, the invaders were still defied. But the jealousies of the petty princes, and the rancorous feuds of the clans, defeated all their greater projects; and, at the critical moment which was to seal the fate of the whole country, Rees-ap-Meredith, the prince of South Wales, was induced to join Edward and fight against Llewellyn, the ruler of the northern principality, and the representative of a rival family. Llewellyn, moreover, was opposed by his own brother David, who also rallied, with his vassals, round the standard of the English king.

In the wars between Henry III. and the barons, the prince of North Wales had taken part with the latter,

and had shown himself the steady friend of de Montfort. A body of northern Welsh had fought for that great earl against Edward at the battle of Evesham; and when de Montfort was dead, and his family ruined and scattered, Llewellyn still retained his old affection for the house, and agreed upon a marriage with Elinor de Montfort, daughter to the deceased earl. As that young lady was on her voyage from France to Wales, with Emeric her youngest brother, she was taken by four ships of Bristol, and was sent to King Edward's court, where both brother and sister were detained as prisoners. Angry feelings had existed before, but this seizure of his bride transported Llewellyn with wrath, and, bitterly complaining of the wrong and insult which had been done to him in a time of peace, he prepared for war. According to some accounts, he began hostilities by falling upon the English on his borders, killing the people, and burning their towns; but this is not quite certain, and, at all events, Edward had long been employed in making preparations for conquest, and, what was equally notorious, and still more irritating to the unfortunate prince, he had been intriguing with Llewellyn's subjects and corrupting the Welsh chiefs with bribes and promises.

In A.D. 1277, after the feast of Easter, Edward departed from Westminster, and with a mighty force, which increased as he advanced, marched towards Chester. At Midsummer he crossed the Dee, and, keeping between the mountains and the sea, took the two castles of Flint and Rhuddlan. Cautious in the extreme, he made no further progress until he had repaired these fortresses and strengthened their defences. At the same time his fleet, which was skilfully managed by the mariners of the Cinque Ports, co-operated along the devoted coast, blockading every port, and cutting off the supplies which Llewellyn had counted upon receiving from the Isle of Anglesey. On the land side every outlet was strongly guarded, and the Welsh prince, driven to the mountains, was soon in want of provisions. Edward avoided a battle with desperate men, and, girding in the barren mountains, waited the effects of a surer

and more dreadful destroyer than the sword. When winter made its approach the condition of Llewellyn was horrible, and it finally obliged him to throw himself on the generosity of his enemy. On the 10th of November Edward dictated his harsh terms at Rhuddlan Castle. The English king afterwards remitted a tremendous fine, which so poor a country could never have paid; but he showed no great alacrity in making these concessions, and he let nearly a year elapse before he performed his promise of releasing Llewellyn's bride.

Such treaties as that imposed on this occasion upon the Welsh are never kept, and all Edward's art could not reconcile either the prince or people to the sense of degradation. He gratified Llewellyn's brother David, who had fought for him, by marrying him to the daughter of an English earl, and making him an English baron; but, when David stood among his native mountains, he forgot these honours; he cursed his own folly, which had brought ruin upon his country, and had excluded him from the hope of succeeding, either in his own person or in that of his children, to the principality.* The English conquerors were not sufficiently refined to exercise their power with moderation; they derided the national usages, and insulted the prejudices of a susceptible and brave people. The invasion of their own demesnes, and the cutting down of the wood on the lands reserved to them by treaty, exasperated both Llewellyn and David; but it is perfectly clear that had these princes been converted into subservient vassals, or won by the kindest treatment to be solicitous for the preservation of the peace, they would still have been forced into war by the unanimous feeling of the Welsh people. On the night of Palm Sunday, March the 22nd, of the year 1282, David surprised and took the strong castle of Hawardine, belonging to Roger Clifford, the justiciary, "a right worthy and famous knight," according to the English; — a cruel tyrant, according to the Welsh. Several men who made resistance were killed but the

* Llewellyn, it appears, had no children.

lord, who was caught in his bed, was only wounded, and then carried off as a prisoner. A general insurrection ensued: the Welsh rushed in arms from their mountains, and Llewellyn, joining his brother, laid siege to the castles of Flint and Rhuddlan. These strong places held out, but many of the new castles were taken and destroyed, and the English intruders were in some places driven across the marches. When the news was carried to Edward, he affected surprise; but it has been suspected that he was not displeased with the opportunity, afforded by what had taken place, of making his conquest final and absolute. He was in want of money, and had no time to assemble a parliament; he therefore had recourse to the very unconstitutional means of a forced loan. He then sent out commissioners to raise an army, and despatched such troops as he had in readiness to the relief of Flint and Rhuddlan. He soon followed in person, and having assembled nearly all his military tenants and 1000 pioneers, he advanced into North Wales, leaving his fleet to act upon the coast, and reduce the Isle of Anglesey. His pioneers cut down woods, and opened roads into the very fastnesses of Snowdon, whither the natives were again forced to retire. Some entrenched positions were carried, but not without a great loss; and in one affair, which appears to have been a regular battle, Edward was completely checked, if not defeated. But the means at his disposal made the struggle too unequal; reinforcements continually crossed the Dee, or came up from the coast, and he procured the services of foreign mercenaries, who were particularly well suited for mountain warfare. These were bands of Basques from the Pyrenees, whose method of fighting, and whose general habits and manners, differed little from those of the Welsh people, whom they were employed to hunt down like blood-hounds. These foreign hordes acted where the regular troops of the English king could not;—accustomed in their own country to mountains far more rugged, they penetrated into every part of Snowdon, and the last bulwark of Welsh independence was forced. Edward, chiefly by means of his fleet, occupied Anglesey; but,

in passing from that island to the main, a detachment of his forces sustained a severe loss. Between the sword and the waves there perished thirteen knights, seventeen esquires, and several hundred foot-soldiers. This reverse at the Menai Strait happened on St. Leonard's day, the 6th of November. In another battle, Edward himself was worsted, being obliged to fly for protection to one of his castles, leaving the Lords Audley and Clifford dead on the field. Llewellyn was elated by these successes, and he fondly hoped that the severity of winter would force the English to retire; but Edward had collected a strong force in Pembrokeshire and Carmarthen, and he now sent it orders to advance through South Wales, and attack his enemy in the rear. Leaving his brother David to carry on the war in North Wales, his own principality, Llewellyn boldly turned his steps to the south, to meet the new invaders. He had reached Bualth, in the valley of the Wye, when the English, under the savage Earl of Mortimer, appeared suddenly on the opposite side of the river. A Welsh force was on the neighbouring heights; but the prince had been left with only a few followers. The English crossed the river and surprised him before he had time to put on his armour; he was murdered, rather than slain in battle. They cut off his head and sent it to Edward, who forwarded it to London, there to be placed on the Tower.

The struggle for independence did not, however, end with this unfortunate prince. In spite of the submission of most of the Welsh chiefs, his brother David still kept his sword in his hand, and for six months he wandered a free man over his native wilds. At last he was betrayed by some unpatriotic Welshmen, and with his wife and children carried in chains to the castle of Rhuddlan. In the month of September following, an English parliament, assembled by Edward at Shrewsbury, pronounced the doom—not of the last champion of Welsh independence (for Madoc and others soon followed)—but of the last sovereign prince of one of the most ancient ruling families of Europe. He was sentenced—1st. To be dragged by a horse to the place of execution, because he was a traitor

to the king, who had made him a knight. 2ndly. To be hanged, because he had murdered the knights in Hawardine Castle. 3rdly. To have his bowels burned, because he had done the deed on Palm Sunday, the season of Christ's passion. 4thly. To be quartered, and have his limbs hung up in different places, because he had conspired the death of his lord the king in various parts. The sentence was executed to the letter, and it remained for many ages a revolting precedent in cases of high treason.*

Edward had far more patience and prudence than was common to the warriors and conquerors of his time; and he devised wise means for retaining peaceful possession of what he had gained by force. He did not move from Wales until more than a year after the death of Llewellyn, and he spent the greater part of that time in dividing the country into shires and hundreds, after the manner of England, and restoring order and tranquillity. Immediately after the affair of Bualth, he published a proclamation, offering peace to all the inhabitants, giving them at the same time assurances that they should continue to enjoy all their lands, liberties, and properties as they had done before. Some of the ancient usages of the country were respected, but, generally speaking, the laws of England were introduced and enforced. He gave charters with great privileges to various trading companies in Rhuddlan, Caernarvon, Aberystwith, and other towns, with the view of encouraging trade and tempting the Welsh from their mountains, and their wild, free way of living, to a more social and submissive state. When his wife Eleanor bore him a son in the castle of Caernarvon, he adroitly availed himself of that circumstance, by presenting the infant Edward to the people as their countryman, and telling them that he, who was born among them, should be their prince. The Welsh chiefs expected that this "Prince of Wales" would have the separate government of their country, for Alphonso, an elder brother of the infant Edward, was then alive, and

* Heming.—Chron. Dunst.—Rymer.—Carte.

the acknowledged heir to the English crown. For some time they indulged in this dream of a restored independence, and professed, and probably felt, a great attachment to the young Edward: but Prince Alphonso died; the illusion was also dissipated by other circumstances, and, in the sequel, the Welsh-born prince came to be regarded by his countrymen with very different feelings from either pride or affection.

After the subjugation of Wales, Edward's ambition rested for about four years—three of which he passed almost wholly on the continent, where he was honourably engaged as umpire to settle a fresh dispute which had arisen between the Kings of France, Arragon, and the house of Anjou, respecting the island of Sicily. His ability and conduct in this matter gained him a great increase of reputation among foreign princes;* but the affairs of his own kingdom fell into disorder: the English people complained that he neglected their interests to take charge of what did not concern them; and the parliament at last refused him a supply which he had asked. The king then returned in haste, and, almost immediately after, he involved himself in the affairs of Scotland, which, with a few short intervals, entirely occupied him all the rest of his reign.

Before proceeding, however, to this part of the story of the English king, it will be most convenient to resume our Scottish narrative from the point to which we brought it down in the last Book.†

The reign of Alexander II., who succeeded to the throne in 1214, will not detain us long. After the death of John, the King of Scots continued to co-operate with Prince Louis of France and the confederated English barons; and he himself, his whole army, and kingdom were, in consequence, excommunicated by the legate Gualo; but the sentence seems to have been very little minded either by the people or their clergy. It was not

* Rymer.—Mezeray, Hist. Franc.—Giannone, Storia del Regno di Napoli.

† See vol. iii. p. 187.

even published by the latter till almost a twelvemonth had passed. In the meantime Louis made peace with Henry, without giving himself any concern about his ally. On this, Alexander, who was on his march into England, returned home. He soon after, however, effected his reconciliation both with the pope and the new King of England. On the 1st of December, 1217, he received absolution from the delegates of Gualo at Tweedmouth; and at the same time he surrendered to Henry the town of Carlisle, of which, although not of the castle, he had made himself master, and did homage for the earldom of Huntingdon and his other honours and possessions in England. On the 25th of June, 1221, Alexander married the Princess Joan, Henry the Third's eldest sister. A long period of uninterrupted peace and amity between the two countries was the consequence of these arrangements.

Nothwithstanding the alliance that connected Alexander and Henry, and the friendship and frequent intercourse in which they lived,—for the King of Scots made repeated visits to the English court,—no final settlement of their claims upon each other had yet taken place. It was not till September, 1237, that at a conference, held at York, it was agreed that Alexander, who, among other things, laid claim, by right of inheritance, to the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland, should receive lands in the two former of the yearly value of two hundred pounds in full satisfaction of all his demands. The following year (4th March, 1238) Queen Joan died at Canterbury. She had left no issue, and within little more than a year (15th May, 1239) Alexander married again: his new queen was Mary, daughter of Ingelram de Couci, a great lord of Picardy. The chief bond that had attached the two kings was thus snapped; and Mary de Couci, whose family had been distinguished for its opposition to the English interests, is, besides, supposed to have exercised an unfavourable influence over the mind of her husband. It was some years, however, before the old friendship that had subsisted between him and Henry wholly gave way: even

in 1242. we find Henry, when about to set out on his expedition to France, confiding to Alexander the care of the northern borders. But in this same year an event occurred which is especially memorable for the consequences attributed to it. An old feud had existed between the Bissets, a powerful family in the north of Scotland, and the house of Athole. At a tournament held at Haddington, Patrick, Earl of Athole, a youth distinguished for his knightly accomplishments, chanced to overthrow Walter Bisset. Within a day or two after the Earl of Athole was found murdered in the house where he lodged, which was also set on fire. Suspicion immediately fell upon the Bissets: the nobility, headed by the Earl of March, immediately raised an armed force, and demanded the life both of Walter and of his uncle William Bisset, the chief of the family. It appears pretty certain that the latter at least was innocent of any participation in the murder: he urged, what seems to have been the fact, that he was not within fifty miles of Haddington when it was committed: he offered to maintain his innocence by the wager of battle; and, still further to clear himself, he had sentence of excommunication against the murderers published both in his own chapel and in all the churches of the kingdom. It seems to have been against him, nevertheless, that the rage both of the connexions of Athole and of the people generally was chiefly turned; the savage notions of the period could not view what had taken place in any other light than as a ground for hunting to death the whole kindred of the supposed criminal; and the head of his family, as higher game, was naturally, in the spirit of this mode of considering the matter, pursued even with more eagerness than himself. The king, however, seems to have felt the injustice of the popular clamour; he interposed for Bisset's protection; and even the queen, according to Fordun, offered to make oath that he had no part in devising the crime; that is to say, she was so convinced of his innocence that she was willing to come forward as one of his compurgators, if the case should be submitted to that mode of trial. The opposite party, however,

seem to have declined submitting the question to decision either by compurgation or by combat: they insisted that it should be brought before a jury; so that this affair is remarkable, in addition to its other points of interest, as a memorial of all the three great forms of judicial procedure in criminal cases which were then in use. Bisset refused the trial by jury, "on account of the malevolence of the people, and the implacable resentment of his enemies." At last, by the exertions of the king, it was agreed that he should be allowed to escape with his life on condition of forfeiting his estates and leaving the country. But he was still, notwithstanding, in the greatest danger from the secret determination of his enemies to have his blood; and it was only by remaining in concealment under the royal protection for about three months that he was at last enabled to make his escape to England. Whatever may have been his injuries, he now certainly showed little nobleness of character. Stung, possibly, with an indignant sense of the injustice he had experienced, he sought to avenge himself on his enemies at the expense not only of his country but of its king, to whose zealous and energetic interposition in his favour he owed his life. It is said that he made his appeal to the King of England against the judgment that had been passed on him, on the plea that "Alexander, being the vassal of Henry, had no right to inflict such punishment on his nobles without the permission of his liege lord;" and that, at the same time, he further endeavoured to excite Henry against the Scottish king by describing the latter as devoted to the interests of France, and quoting instances in which, as he affirmed, English traitors who had escaped from prison were received and harboured at the northern court.*

These insidious representations may not improbably have had some part, along with other causes, in fomenting the hostile disposition which Henry not long after openly showed. At length, having fully arranged his plans, he

* Hailes, Ann. of Scot. i. 188—190.—Tytler, Hist. of Scot. i. 4—6.

proclaimed war against Alexander in 1244, and assembling a numerous army at Newcastle, prepared to invade Scotland. Some troops, which had been sent to the assistance of Alexander by his brother-in-law, John de Couci, had been intercepted by Henry, who had also organised a confederacy of Irish chiefs to aid him in his enterprise, by making a descent upon the Scottish coast; but the country, nevertheless, prepared to make a vigorous resistance. The sword, however, was not drawn, after all; a negociation took place between the two kings, and a peace was concluded at Newcastle (13th August), by which Alexander agreed always to bear good faith and love to his dear and liege lord, Henry, King of England, and never to enter into alliance with the enemies of Henry or of his heirs, unless they should unjustly aggrieve him.*

He was engaged in war with his unruly vassal, Angus, Lord of Argyle, when he was taken ill, and died in the island of Kerarry, near the Sound of Mull, on the 8th of July, 1249, in the fifty-first year of his age and thirty-fifth of his reign. Alexander, like most of the other Scottish kings of those times, stood up throughout his reign for the independence of the national church. Although a favourer of the clergy, he does not appear to have gone into any extravagant expenditure for the aggrandizement of their order. He founded, indeed, no fewer than eight monasteries for the Dominicans or Black Friars; and Boece supposes that his partiality to these mendicants may have been occasioned by his having seen their founder, St. Dominic, in France, about the year 1217. "The sight of a living saint," observes

* Nisi nos injuste gravent. Dr. Lingard describes this treaty as "an arrangement by which, though he eluded the express recognition of feudal dependence, he (Alexander) seems to have conceded to Henry the substance of his demand." In fact, "the express recognition of feudal dependence" was not at all eluded by Alexander; it was made in the most distinct terms, but it was not made for the kingdom of Scotland, and therefore it was Henry, not Alexander, who conceded the point in dispute.

Lord Hailes, "may have made an impression on his young mind; but perhaps he considered the mendicant friars as the cheapest ecclesiastics: his revenues could not supply the costly institution of Cistercians and canons regular, in which his great-grandfather, David I., took delight."

Alexander was succeeded on the throne by his only son, Alexander III., who was born at Roxburgh on the 4th of September, 1241, and was now consequently only in his nin.th year. There was reason to apprehend that the King of England might endeavour to take advantage of this occasion to renew his attempt against the independence of the kingdom; and, therefore, by the patriotic advice of William Comyn, Earl of Menteith, no time was lost in proceeding to the coronation of the young king. The ceremony took place at Scone on the 13th of July, the Bishop of St. Andrew's knighting the king as well as placing the crown on his head.

It would serve no useful end to load our pages with any detail of the intricate and in great part very imperfectly intelligible struggles of adverse factions that make up the history of the kingdom during this as during every other minority in those times. It is sufficient to state that at the head of one of the two great contending parties was the powerful family of the Comyns, of which name it is said there were at this time in Scotland no fewer than thirty-two knights, several of whom were barons; the Baliols, among others, were adherents of this party. Among their most distinguished opponents were the Earl of March and Dunbar, the Earl of Strathern, the Earl of Carrick, the Bruces, the Steward of Scotland, and Alan Durward, who held the office of Great Justiciary, and was also one of the most distinguished soldiers of the age. But many of the nobility were constantly changing sides, according to the course and apparent chances of the contest. The King of England also soon found a fair pretence for interfering in Scottish affairs by giving his daughter Margaret in marriage to Alexander, according to an agreement which had been entered into soon after the births of the prince

and the princess. Although neither party was yet quite eleven years old, the nuptials were celebrated at York with great magnificence on the 26th of December, 1251.

On this occasion Alexander, according to custom, did homage to Henry for his English possessions; but when the latter demanded homage also for the kingdom of Scotland, the young Scottish sovereign said, "that he had been invited to York to marry the princess of England, not to treat of affairs of state; and that he could not take a step so important without the knowledge and approbation of his parliament." It was agreed, however, that Henry, in consideration apparently of his natural interest in the welfare of his son-in-law, should send a person in whom he placed confidence to Scotland, who might act in concert with the Scottish guardians of the young king. He sent, accordingly, Geoffrey of Langley, keeper of the royal forests, a man who had already acquired the worst reputation in England by the severity with which he exercised the powers of his odious office; but the Scottish barons, finding his insolence intolerable, soon compelled him to leave the country.

In 1255 we find the English king despatching a new mission to Scotland under pretence of inquiring into certain grievances complained of by the queen his daughter. At this time Robert de Ros and John de Baliol, two noblemen of the Comyn party, appear to have been at the head of the government under the name of Regents. Queen Margaret complained that she was confined in the castle of Edinburgh,—a sad and solitary place,—without verdure, and, by reason of its vicinity to the sea, unwholesome; that she was not permitted to make excursions through the kingdom, nor to choose her female attendants; and that, although both she and her husband had by this time completed their fourteenth year, they were still excluded from each other's society. By a scheme concerted between Henry and the party opposed to the Comyns, the Earl of March, Durward, and other leaders of that party soon after this contrived to surprise the castle of Edinburgh, and to get possession of the king and queen. They were immediately conveyed to the

north of England, where Henry was with an army; and at last, in a meeting of the two kings at Roxburgh (20th September, 1255), a new plan of government was settled, to subsist for seven years, that is, till Alexander should have attained the age of twenty-one, by which all the Comyns were deprived of office, and the Earls of Fife, Dunbar, Strathern, and Carrick, Alexander the Steward of Scotland, Robert de Bruce, Alan Durward, and other principal persons of the same faction, were appointed regents of the kingdom and guardians of the king and queen.

The settlement appears to have been maintained for about two years; but in 1257 a counter revolution was effected through the junction with the Comyns of Mary de Couci, Alexander's mother, who had married John de Brienne, son of the titular king of Jerusalem, and had lately returned from abroad, animated with all her old hereditary hatred of the English influence, and strengthened both by her new alliance and by the favour and countenance of the pope. The lately expelled faction now suddenly rose in arms, seized the king and queen at Kinross, and so completely carried everything before them that the principal adherents of the English interests found it necessary to save themselves by flight. There can be no doubt that, with whatever justice or by whatever means, the Comyns contrived to make theirs appear to be the patriotic cause, and to gain, at least for the moment, the popular voice. They probably made use of the old cry of independence, and worked upon the sensitive national jealousy of England with good effect. Even the king, now that he was in their hands, was of course compelled to act along with them, and submit to be their instrument. They put him at the head of their forces, and marched towards the English border, where it would appear that the adherents of the late government had rallied and collected their strength. No contest of arms, however, took place; the dispute was eventually settled by negotiation; and it was agreed that while the chief power should remain in the hands of the Comyns and the queen-dowager, to six regents of this

party should be added four of the members of the late government. Mary de Couci and her husband were placed at the head of this new regency.

The coalition thus formed seems to have substantially subsisted till the king came of age, and took the management of affairs into his own hands, although, shortly after the new government was established, the Comyns lost their great leader, Walter earl of Monteith, poisoned, as was suspected, by his countess. In 1260, on the Queen of Scots becoming pregnant, she and her husband were permitted to go to her father in London, Henry engaging that neither the king nor his attendants should be required to treat of state affairs during their visit, and also making oath that he would not detain either the queen or her child if her delivery should take place in England. In February, 1261, the Queen of Scots was delivered at Windsor of a daughter, who was named Margaret.

The year 1263 is the most memorable in the reign of Alexander. The Earl of Ross and other northern chiefs had, at the instigation of the Scottish king, invaded the Hebrides or Western Islands, which were under the dominion of Norway, and had signalized their descent, according to the Norwegian chroniclers, by the most frightful excesses of savage warfare. Haco, the Norwegian king, immediately prepared for vengeance. Having collected a great fleet, he sailed from Herlover in the beginning of July. The Orkney Islands, which, although formerly belonging to Norway, had been lately compelled to acknowledge the sovereignty of Scotland, were his first destination. Anchoring in the bay of Ronaldsvoe (now Ronaldsay), the formidable armament remained there for some weeks, during which the inhabitants both of the islands and of the opposite mainland were compelled to supply it with provisions and to pay tribute. It is recorded, in the Norse chronicle of the expedition, that while the fleet lay at Ronaldsvoe "a great darkness drew over the sun, so that only a little ring was bright round his orb;" and it is found that the remarkable phenomenon of an annular eclipse must have been seen at Ronaldsvoe this year on the 5th of August.

Such confirmations seem to revivify the long-buried past, and make its history read like a narrative of events of our own day. Haco now sailed for the south, and being joined as he proceeded by his allies, Magnus, the Lord of Man, and various Hebridean chiefs, he found himself at the head of above a hundred sail, most of them vessels of considerable size. Dividing his force, he sent one powerful squadron to ravage the Mull of Cantyre; another, to make a descent on the Isle of Bute. The latter soon compelled the Scottish garrison of the castle of Rothsay, in that island, to surrender. In the mean time Haco himself entered the Frith of Clyde, and anchored between the mainland and the Isle of Arran. Additional accessions had by this time increased his fleet to a hundred and sixty sail. The Scottish government now attempted to avert the danger by negotiation: the abandonment of all claim to the Hebrides was offered to Alexander; but to these terms Haco would not listen. Some time however was thus gained, which was in various ways advantageous to the Scots and detrimental to their invaders. It allowed the former to improve their preparations for defence; it embarrassed the latter by a growing difficulty in obtaining provisions, and it exposed their fleet, upon a strange coast, to the hazards of the stormy season of the year that was fast approaching. Many of the inhabitants of the neighbouring country meanwhile had retreated for safety to the islets in Loch-Lomond. There, however, they were soon attacked by a division of the invading force under the command of the King of Man, who first sailing to the head of Loch-Long, and plundering the shores as they passed, then dragged their boats across the neck of land that divides the two lakes. A devastating expedition into Stirlingshire followed. But now the heavens began to fight against them. One gale destroyed ten of their ships that lay in Loch-Long; and soon after, on Monday the 1st of October, a tempest of tremendous violence from the south-west attacked the main squadron lying under the command of Haco in the Clyde, and tearing nearly every ship from its moorings, after casting several of them on

shore, drove the rest, mostly dismasted or otherwise disabled, up the channel. The Scottish forces collected in the neighbourhood immediately fell upon the crews of the vessels that were stranded; but the Norwegians defended themselves with great valour; and assistance having been sent to them by Haco, when the wind was somewhat abated, they succeeded in driving off their assailants. As soon as daylight appeared, Haco, who had collected his shattered ships off the village of Largs, landed at the head of a strong force for the protection of two transports that had been among the vessels cast ashore the preceding afternoon, and which the Scots had attempted to plunder during the night. This movement may be said to have commenced what is called the battle of Largs. The Scottish army, led by Alexander, the Steward of Scotland, now came down from the surrounding high grounds. The handful of Norwegians, drawn up in three divisions, one of which occupied a small hill, while the other two were stationed on the shore, were greatly outnumbered by this force; and Haco, as the engagement was about to commence, was, although with much difficulty, prevailed upon by his officers to row back to the ships for further aid. But he had scarcely got on board when another furious storm came on, and rendered the landing of more men for the present impossible. In the mean time the Scots had attacked the most advanced body of the Norwegians, who were soon obliged to fly in confusion. The rout immediately became general; numbers of the Norwegians threw themselves into their boats and attempted to regain their ships; the rest were driven along the shore amid showers of arrows from their pursuing enemy. Still they repeatedly rallied, and, turning round upon their pursuers, made an obstinate stand at every point where the ground favoured them. In this way, although still galled by the Scots hovering on their rear, they seem to have at length converted their flight into a slow and comparatively orderly retreat. Towards night a reinforcement from the ships having, notwithstanding the storm, which still continued, effected a landing by extraordinary efforts, the foreigners, if we may trust to their own account, even made a gene-

ral attack upon the Scottish army, and, after a short resistance, succeeded in driving it back. They then re-embarked in their boats and regained their ships. But on the water the elements had been doing their destructive work even with more effect than human rage on land. Haco's magnificent navy was now reduced to a few shattered vessels. The Norwegian king sailed away to the island of Arran, and from thence through a course of stormy weather to Orkney, which he did not reach till the 29th of October. He proceeded no farther on his homeward voyage. An illness seized upon him, under which he lingered for some weeks, and at last expired on the 15th of December.*

The battle of Largs is the great event of the reign of Alexander. The victory was among the most important the Scots ever won. It was their last conflict with the pirate kings. After negotiations which lasted for nearly three years, a peace was concluded with Norway, by which both the Hebrides and the Isle of Man, and all other islands in the western and southern seas of which that power might have hitherto held or claimed the dominion, were made over in full sovereignty to Scotland. The Western Islands were never afterwards withdrawn from the Scottish rule.

There is little more to relate under the reign of Alexander. He was present with his queen and many of his nobility at the coronation of Edward I., in 1274, and on that occasion did homage, according to custom, for his English possessions. In 1278 he performed this ceremony a second time, declaring, according to the record preserved in the Close Rolls, that he became the liegeman of his lord, King Edward of England, against all people. This was substantially the same acknowledg-

* See 'The Norwegian Account of Haco's Expedition against Scotland,' in Islandic and English, with notes: by the Rev. James Johnstone, A.M., 12mo., 1782; and 'Observations on the Norwegian Expedition against Scotland, in the year 1263, and on some previous events which gave occasion to that War,' by John Dillon, Esq., in 'Transactions of the Society of the Antiquaries of Scotland,' vol. ii., 4to. Edin. 1823, pp. 350—407.

ment that Alexander II. had made to Henry III. in 1244. It was no admission of Edward's claim of feudal superiority over Scotland, as is conclusively proved, if there could be any doubt on the subject, by the sequel of the record, which expressly states that Edward "received it, saving his right and claim to homage for the kingdom of Scotland, when it shall please him to bring it forward."

The government of Alexander, after he took the management of affairs into his own hands, made him universally beloved by his people; and peace and plenty blessed the land in his time. But clouds and storms were soon to succeed this sunshine.

Alexander had lost his queen, Margaret of England, in 1275; but, besides the daughter already mentioned, she had left him a son, named Alexander, born at Jedburgh on the 21st of January, 1264: David, a younger son, had died in his boyhood. In 1281 the Princess Margaret was married to Eric, King of Norway; and the following year the Prince of Scotland, now a youth of eighteen, was united to Margaret, daughter of Guy, earl of Flanders. At this time the king himself, as yet only in his forty-first year, might reasonably have counted on a much longer reign; the alliances which he had formed for his children promised to enable him to transmit his sceptre to a line of descendants; and the people seemed entitled to look forward to the continuance of the present peace and prosperity of the country for many years. By a singular succession of calamities all these fair hopes were, one after the other, rapidly extinguished. First, in the latter part of the year 1283, died the Queen of Norway, leaving only an infant daughter. The death of Queen Margaret was followed by that of her brother, the Prince of Scotland, on the 28th of January, 1284. No time was lost by Alexander in taking the measures for the settlement of the succession which these events rendered necessary. On the 5th of February the parliament was assembled at Scone, when the estates of the kingdom solemnly bound themselves, failing Alexander and any children he might yet have, to acknowledge for their

sovereign the Norwegian princess,—"the Maiden of Norway," as she is called by the old writers. The following year (15th April, 1285) Alexander married Joleta, the young and beautiful daughter of the Count de Dreux. But within a year after his marriage, on the 16th of March, 1286, as Alexander was riding in a dark night between Kinghorn and Burnt Island, his horse stumbled with him over a high cliff, at a place now known by the name of King's Wood End, when he was killed on the spot.

The loss of this excellent king would in any circumstances have been a heavy calamity to his country; but the blow could not have been received at a more unfortunate moment than the present. A long minority was now the least evil the kingdom had to dread, and that evil was certain if a worse should not take its place. The life of an infant, in a foreign country, alone stood between the nation and all the sure confusion and miseries of a disputed succession. The first proceeding of the estates was to appoint a regency, at a meeting held at Scone, on the 11th of April. But scarcely, it would appear, had the throne of Queen Margaret been thus set up, when it began to be undermined by plots and secret treason. The rule of a female sovereign was new to the country; the attempt to transmit the crown to a daughter had already failed in England, even when made in the most favourable circumstances by Henry I.

The main strength of Margaret's cause lay in there being no other certain heir to the throne if she was set aside. The choice was between her and a disputed succession. Had it not been for this, it is more than probable that the settlement in her favour would have been wholly disregarded after Alexander's death. The next heir, if a male of mature age, and a native of the country, would at once have been preferred to the foreign female infant. Even as matters stood there was, it would seem, one party which had already formed the design of displacing Queen Margaret in favour of its own chief. Robert de Brus, or Bruce, Lord of Annandale and Cleveland, was the son of Isabella, one of the three daughters

of David, earl of Huntingdon, the brother of William the Lion. He and a number of his adherents, including some of the principal of the Scottish nobility, held a meeting on the 20th of September, 1286, at Turnberry Castle, in Ayrshire, the seat of Bruce's son, Robert Bruce, called Earl of Carrick in right of his wife, and there entered into an agreement, by which they bound themselves to adhere to one another on all occasions, and against all persons, saving their allegiance to the King of England, and to him who should gain the kingdom of Scotland as the rightful heir of the late king.* The intention of the parties to this bond would appear to have been to obtain the crown for Bruce, by the aid of the King of England, whom, with that view, they were prepared to acknowledge as Lord Paramount of Scotland. Edward however had, for the present, another scheme of his own, with which this of theirs could not be suffered to interfere.

Two of the chief members of the regency, the Earl of Buchan and the Earl of Fife, died towards the close of the year 1288 (the Earl of Fife was murdered); and from this time violent divisions arose in the government, and all things began to tend to confusion and anarchy. One account is that the Estates of Scotland now made a formal application to the English king for his advice and mediation towards composing the troubles of the kingdom. But this statement does not rest upon any certain authority. In the end of the year 1289, however, Eric, King of Norway, opened a negotiation with Edward on the affairs of his infant daughter and her kingdom; and at Edward's request the Scottish regency sent three of its members to take part in a solemn deliberation which was appointed to be held at Salisbury. It was here agreed that the young queen should be immediately conveyed either to her own dominions or to England, Edward engaging in the latter case to deliver her, on demand, to the Scottish nation, provided that good order should be previously established in Scotland, so that she might reside there

* Tytler, Hist. of Scot., i. 65.

with safety to her person. No mention was made in this convention of an English match for Margaret; but it appears that Edward had already obtained a dispensation from Rome for her marriage to her cousin, his eldest son. A report to that effect was very soon after spread in Scotland; whereupon the Estates immediately assembled at Bridgeham, a village on the Tweed, and from thence addressed a letter to the English king, expressing in warm terms their gratification at the rumour that had reached them, and beseeching him to inform them if it was true. "If it is," they concluded, "we on our part heartily consent to the alliance, not doubting that you will agree to such reasonable conditions as we shall propose to your council." They wrote at the same time to the King of Norway, pressing him to send his daughter instantly to England.

Some months after this (on the 18th of July, 1290) a treaty was concluded at the same place, by which everything in regard to the proposed marriage was finally arranged. Many stipulations were made for securing the integrity and independence of the Scottish kingdom; and all points, both of substance and of form, relating to that matter, were regulated with elaborate scrupulosity. But the event of a few weeks rendered all the painstaking and oathtaking of no effect. The Maiden of Norway having at length set sail for Britain, fell sick on her passage, and landing on one of the Orkney islands, died there about the end of September: she was in her eighth year.

The fatality which seemed to have pursued the royal family of Scotland for above a century past was certainly very remarkable. Within that period it will be found that William the Lion and his posterity had made no fewer than ten marriages, and yet there was not now a descendant of that king in existence.

In this failure of the line of William the Lion, the heir to the crown was to be sought for among the descendants of his younger brother, David, earl of Huntingdon. David, besides a son, who died without issue, left three daughters; the eldest, Margaret, married to Alan of Gal-

loway; the second, Isabella, married to Robert Bruce; the third, Ada, married to Henry Hastings. Margaret's eldest daughter, Dervorgoil (she had no son), married John de Baliol, Lord of Bernard Castle, by whom she had a son, John Baliol; Robert Bruce, earl of Carrick, in right of his wife, was the son of Isabella; John Hastings was the son of Ada. Baliol, therefore, was the grandson of the eldest daughter of David, earl of Huntingdon; Bruce and Hastings were the sons of his two younger daughters. According to the rule of descent as now established, no question about who had the right of succession could be raised in such a case; the descendant of the elder daughter, however remote, would be preferred to the descendant of the younger daughter, however near; and, indeed, even in that age this rule, which flows directly and necessarily from the admission of the principle of primogeniture, seems to have been all but universally recognised by the authorities on this part of the law. Still the point was not so distinctly settled that a debate might not be raised on it, or that, supported by popular or party zeal, the one claim might not be put forward, and asserted to be that of law and right, with as much plausibility to the general understanding, and as fair a chance of success, as the other.

When the death of the queen first became known, it was probably doubtful how many competitors might start up for the vacant throne, or to what extent the controversy might be entangled by their conflicting claims. It was certain, however, that a controversy there would be, and in all likelihood a long and fierce one; and, also, that a state of circumstances had arisen in which everything was to be feared for the national independence from the ambition of the English king, and the ascendancy in Scottish affairs his artful management and the course of events had already given him. The news, therefore, spread universal grief and consternation throughout Scotland.

According to one account it was now that the embassy to Edward, soliciting his advice and mediation, was sent by the estates of Scotland. From what immediately followed it does appear probable that some such application

may have been now made by the Scots. Upon this supposition we can most easily account for the invitation which Edward addressed to their nobility and clergy to meet him at Norham, a town on the English side of the Tweed, and the readiness with which they obeyed his summons. The conference took place on the 10th of May, 1291. Here Edward distinctly announced that he proposed to regulate the succession to the throne of Scotland as superior and lord paramount of that kingdom, and insisted upon their recognition of his title as such before any other business should be proceeded with. Little doubt can be entertained that many of the persons present were perfectly prepared for all this; but it took a part of the assembly by surprise; and at length one voice ventured to respond, that no answer could be made to the demand that had been addressed to them while the throne was vacant. "By holy Edward!" cried the English king, "By holy Edward! whose crown I wear, I will vindicate my just rights or perish in the attempt!" At last the meeting was adjourned till the morrow, and from that day, on the Scots requesting a longer delay, it was further adjourned to the 2nd of June. Edward had already issued writs to his barons and other military tenants in the northern counties, commanding them to assemble at Norham on the 3rd of the same month with horses, arms, and all their powers.

The meeting of the 2nd of June took place on a green plain called Holywell Haugh, near Upsettlington, on the north bank of the Tweed, opposite to Norham Castle, and within the territory of Scotland. Among those present were no fewer than eight persons who, under various titles, laid claim to the crown. One of these was Robert Bruce, Lord of Annandale. Turning first to him, Robert Burnel, bishop of Bath and chancellor of England, demanded "Whether he acknowledged Edward as Lord Paramount of Scotland? and whether he was willing to ask and receive judgment from him in that character?" Bruce, says the official record of the proceedings, definitively, expressly, publicly, and openly declared his assent. The other seven competitors afterwards did the same. Next day, John Baliol and another competitor,

making ten in all, appeared and followed their example. "The whole form of this business," as Lord Hailes remarks, "appears to have been preconcerted." There were probably few of the assembled nobility and clergy that were not the sworn adherents of one or other of the competitors; they were divided into the Bruce party and the Baliol party; and they were of course severally ready to follow in whatever direction their chiefs might lead them. With regard, again, to the two great claimants of the crown themselves, if either consented to submit to the arbitration of Edward, it is obvious that his rival had no alternative but to acquiesce in the same mode of deciding the question, unless he were prepared to resign all hope and chance of success. The true explanation, however, of Baliol's absence on the first day of the meeting probably is, that he sought by this piece of management, perhaps in concert with Edward, to throw upon his opponent the odium of taking the first step in the unpopular course of thus surrendering the national independence. There is reason to believe that, whether swayed by his view of the justice of the case or by other considerations, Edward had, from the first, determined that Baliol should have the crown, and that all the anxious and protracted deliberation he affected to give to the subject was merely so much hollow and hypocritical formality. Of the other claimants who presented themselves along with Baliol and Bruce, most seem to have been brought forward only to throw a greater air of perplexity over the case, and to give some chance of dividing any opposition that might eventually be made to the successful candidate, or even, it may be, with the object of leaving the question of the succession to the Scottish crown still open if any casualty should remove either of the two principal competitors before Edward's designs for the complete subjection of the country should be matured. The whole course of his conduct leaves no room to doubt that he intended to treat Scotland as he had treated Wales. This union of the whole island under one sceptre was evidently the grand scheme upon which he had set his heart, and which inspired and directed his whole policy. At first he hoped

to accomplish his object, in so far as Scotland was concerned, by the marriage of his eldest son with the queen of that country; when the death of Margaret defeated this arrangement, he could not for the present proceed to the attainment of his end by so direct a path; but that end was still the same, and was never lost sight of for a moment. At this very meeting at Norham the English chancellor protested, in the name and in the presence of the king his master, "that, although he now asserted his right of *superiority* with the view of giving judgment to the competitors, yet that he meant not to relinquish his right of *property* in the kingdom of Scotland, acclaimable hereafter in fit manner and time convenient."*

The proceedings at Norham, on the 3rd of June, were terminated by a unanimous agreement that a body of 104 commissioners should be appointed to examine the cause and report to Edward; forty being named by Baliol, the same number by Bruce, and the remainder by Edward himself, who was, moreover, empowered to add to the commission as many more persons as he chose. On the 11th of the same month the regents of Scotland made a solemn surrender of the kingdom into the hands of the English king, and the keepers of castles made a like surrender of their trusts; in both cases, however, on the condition that Edward should make full restitution in two months from the date of his award in the cause of the succession.

Gilbert de Umfraville, earl of Angus, alone refused to deliver the castles of Dundee and Forfar, which he held, without an obligation to indemnify him from Edward and all the competitors. It was found expedient to comply with the terms thus insisted upon by "the only Scotsman," observes Lord Hailes, "who acted with integrity and spirit on this trial of national integrity and spirit." On the 15th of the same month Bruce and his son, Baliol, and many of the principal Scottish barons, swore fealty to Edward. One churchman only, the Bishop of Sodor, presented himself to perform the disgraceful cere-

* Foedera, ii. 551.

mony. The peace of the King of England, as Lord Paramount of Scotland, was then proclaimed, and the assembly finally adjourned to the 2nd of August.* Edward himself, in the mean time, made a progress through Scotland, in the course of which he visited Edinburgh, Dunfermline, St. Andrew's, Kinghorn, Linlithgow, and Stirling; wherever he appeared, calling upon persons of all ranks, from bishops and earls to burgesses, to sign the rolls of homage as his vassals. Elsewhere officers were appointed to receive the oaths; whoever refused to take them being ordered to be seized and imprisoned.

When the commissioners met at Berwick, and proceeded to business in the presence of Edward, on the 3rd of August, twelve claimants of the crown, in all, presented themselves. Soon afterwards a thirteenth was added, in the person of King Eric of Norway. All of them, however, with the exception of Baliol, Bruce, and Hastings, withdrew their pretensions before any decision was pronounced. The rest, in fact—some of them descendants from illegitimate daughters of William the Lion, others alleging a descent from some earlier king—had none of them any ground whatever on which to come in before the posterity of David, earl of Huntingdon.

The final decision of the cause did not take place till the following year. On the 2nd of June, 1292, the commissioners reported that there appeared to be a diversity of opinion among the fourscore Scottish members of their body, by whose advice, if unanimous, it would have been the duty of the king to have regulated his conduct; and they therefore declined to give any advice without hearing the better judgment of the prelates, nobility, and other wise men of England. On this the further consideration of the question was appointed by Edward to take place in a parliament which he summoned to meet at Berwick on the 15th of October. Here Baliol and Bruce were fully heard in defence of their respective claims; upon which the assembly came unanimously to the conclusion, "that by the laws and usages of both kingdoms,

* Hailes, i. 242—252.

in every heritable succession, the more remote in one degree lineally descended from the eldest sister, was preferable to the nearer in degree issuing from the second sister;"—thus declaring, by implication, against the claim of Bruce as opposed to that of Baliol. In another meeting, on the 6th of November, Edward formally pronounced his decision, "that Bruce should take nothing in the competition with Baliol." Bruce and Hastings now demanded each a third of the kingdom, on the ground that it was a divisible inheritance; but this doctrine the assembly unanimously rejected. Finally, on the 17th of the same month, in the great hall of the castle of Berwick, Edward gave judgment, "that John Baliol should have seisine of the kingdom of Scotland." But again, at this the termination of these proceedings, as a year and a half before at the commencement, the English king solemnly protested, "that the judgment he had thus given should not impair his claim to the *property* of Scotland." On the 19th the regents of Scotland and the governors of castles were ordered to surrender their respective trusts to the new king; and the same day the great seal that had been used by the regency was broken into four parts, and the pieces deposited in the Treasury of England, "in testimony, to future ages, of England's right of superiority over Scotland." The next day Baliol swore fealty to Edward at Norham. On the 30th (St. Andrew's day) he was solemnly crowned at Scone. Soon after he passed into England, and on the 26th of December did homage to Edward for his kingdom at Newcastle: and thus finished the first act of this extraordinary drama.

Events that unexpectedly arose now called away the English king to another scene. Edward's progress at home had not been viewed without serious alarm abroad. The subjugation of Wales and Scotland, by leaving him master of the whole island of Great Britain, rendered him most formidable to all his continental neighbours, and to none so dangerous as to France, where there was a source of dissension ever open, and where the English had a footing that enabled them at all times to carry the

war into the heart of the country. On former occasions several of the French kings had given countenance and encouragement (if little or nothing more) to both Scotch and Welsh when up in arms against the Anglo-Norman sovereigns; but now Philip le Bel thought that the best thing to do was to exert all his strength and drive the English from what was left of their continental dominion. The moment seemed favourable; Edward was absorbed by his great project; and as for the justice of the undertaking, had not Philip as good a right to gather up the scattered fragments of France, and to make of them a respectable whole,—a united and powerful kingdom,—as Edward had to seize and consolidate the ancient independent states of Great Britain in the same view?

The English sovereign, however, was too politic not to see and provide for these schemes: he had long watched Philip with a jealous eye, and while he wisely kept his own armies at home, he had courted alliances abroad, and laboured to raise barriers against Philip's ambition. In the south, by means of presents and flattering assurances, he had won over the powerful Count of Savoy; in the north, he had a good understanding with the Emperor, whom he afterwards subsidized; he had married his daughter Margaret to Henry, count of Bar, whose territories gave an easy access into France on the east; and, at a later period, he made an alliance with Guy, earl of Flanders. The French, moreover, accuse him of opening and maintaining a correspondence in the interior of France with the disaffected subjects of Philip, an accusation which Edward retorted. Matters were in this state when a paltry broil gave rise to sanguinary hostilities. Some English and some Norman sailors met at a watering-place in or near to the port of Bayonne, and quarrelled about which party should fill their casks first. An English mariner struck a Norman with his fist; the Norman drew his knife; his adversary closed with him, and, after a struggle, threw him: in the fall the Norman, it was said, fell upon his own knife and was killed. The English sailor's comrades saved him from the fury of the

opposite party, and, according to the French account, the authorities of Bayonne, which city belonged to the English, refused the Normans proper satisfaction. Burning with revenge, for they maintained that their companion had been foully murdered, the Normans put to sea, and, lying in wait, they seized the first English ship of inferior force they encountered, and taking from it a merchant of Bayonne, they hanged him at the yard-arm, with a dog hung to his feet. Reprisals soon followed, and the mariners of the Cinque Ports pursued their vengeance with relentless fury, hanging nearly every Norman they could take upon the seas. The Normans called in the assistance of the Genoese and the French, for France was now beginning to have a considerable mercantile navy, and even a royal fleet, one of the immense advantages derived from expelling the English and clearing her sea-board. Our mariners at the same time procured the aid of those of Ireland, and Gascony, and Holland. Wherever these opposite parties met, they fought with deadly rancour, carrying on a war on their own account, without any commission from their respective governments. Thus the most vindictive feelings were excited between the two nations before the kings took any open part in the hostilities that were carried on.*

But now Philip, enraged himself, and borne forward to the accomplishment of his favourite project by the universal wrath of the nation, declared his determined enmity. He pretended that he could punish Edward as Duke of Aquitaine, in which character he was a vassal of the French crown. He sent officers to seize some of Edward's estates, but these were driven back by John St. John, an English officer: he then caused a summons to be issued by his judges ordering the "Duke of Aquitaine" to appear at Paris after the feast of Christmas, and answer for his offences against his suzerain. Edward sent a bishop, and then his own brother Edmund, to negotiate. This Edmund appears to have been a very believing, simple personage; for crediting Philip's asser-

* Walsing.—Heming.—Holinsh.

tion that he wanted no acquisition of territory, but merely a striking show of satisfaction to his own injured honour, he consented to surrender Gascony for forty days, at the end of which it was to be faithfully restored to the English king. Upon this surrender, which in some cases gave Philip a military possession of the province, the summons against Edward was withdrawn, and the French king declared himself satisfied. When the forty days had elapsed, Edward demanded repossession, which, as a matter of course, was refused to him. Philip pleaded very triumphantly, in his own court, against some English advocates, and with a bold contempt of appearances and of the recent agreement, pronounced a judgment of forfeiture because Edward had not presented himself as a vassal ought. De Nesle, the Constable of France, was sent to seize some of Edward's cities and towns, and he succeeded in several instances, because the nobles declared against the English. Soon after the feast of Easter, Philip again summoned Edward to plead as Duke of Aquitaine before his peers of France, and, upon his non-attendance, he declared him contumacious and dis-seised of all his lands in France.*

Edward now prepared to plead, but it was with the sword. Having formally renounced the homage of the French king, he got ready a powerful fleet and army; but he was detained for several weeks by contrary winds, and, while he lay at Portsmouth, the Welsh, who thought he was gone, broke out into a general insurrection, to which it seems probable that Philip was no stranger. Detained at home by this circumstance, Edward despatched a small force to Gascony, and gave commission to his ships to plunder the French coast, upon which a number of fierce sea-battles were fought, the victory falling almost invariably to the English. As for Edward himself, he turned with his usual rapidity and vigour against the Welsh, who had taken many castles and towns, and driven the English across the marshes with dreadful loss. It took him some months to suppress this bold struggle

* Rymer

for independence: he carried on the war through all the severities of winter, suffering great hardships and encountering many personal dangers; but in the following spring the Welsh once more fell beneath the mighty weight of his arms and policy: Madoc, their brave leader, surrendered to the conqueror; the most dangerous of the chieftains were thrown into dungeons for life; and after the sacred summits of Snowdon had been again invaded, and the country again wasted with fire and sword, a mournful peace was restored.

When Edward rode a conqueror from the mountains of Wales, he thought that he should at last be allowed to proceed to France, and punish what he considered the execrable perfidy of Philip; but the spirit of liberty was again awake in the mountains of Scotland, and he was once more compelled to forego his continental expedition. He, however, sent his brother Edmund with a small force to Guienne, where the barons, who could never remain satisfied for a year with either the English or the French, were already tired of Philip. Edmund died soon after landing; but the Earl of Lincoln, who succeeded to his command, drove the French from most of the towns they had occupied. These successes, however, were not lasting: Charles de Valois, Philip's brother, recovered those places; and the Count d'Artois, the king's uncle, taking the command of a numerous and excellent army, beat the English in several encounters, and finally expelled them from nearly all the country, with the exception of a few maritime towns. Edward's continental allies did nothing at the time in his defence.

Scarcely had Baliol been fairly seated on his vassal throne, when he was made to feel all the dependence and degradation of his position. Even before the year had expired, on one of the last days of which, as related above, he had done homage for his kingdom to his English lord paramount, Edward, in an angry altercation that arose out of an appeal brought by a citizen of Berwick against a judgment of the Scottish courts, to defend which he had compelled Baliol to appear with his principal prelates and nobles in the royal chamber at New-

castle, frankly informed him that he should persist in hearing in England every cause regularly brought before him from Scotland, and that he would summon the King of Scotland to appear personally at the hearing of every such cause in which he should think his presence necessary. In the course of the following year Baliol was repeatedly called upon to submit to the annoyance and intolerable indignity of thus appearing in the English courts to answer as a defendant in all sorts of causes. Such treatment could only have had one object, and, if it had been tamely acquiesced in, one effect,—to make the menial king utterly contemptible in the eyes of his subjects. At the commencement of Edward's rough usage he bore it with all submission. Immediately after the declaration of the English king that has just been mentioned, he gave Edward a solemn discharge from all the obligations he had contracted by the treaty of Bridgeham in 1290, which treaty was now the sole remaining security to his country for the possession of any national rights, and by which, in particular, provision was made against the very grievance under which he was now made to smart, by one of the clauses which declared that no native of Scotland should be compelled to answer out of the kingdom in any legal cause, either civil or criminal. But the tyranny was so unrelentingly persisted in, and carried so far, that if he had the spirit of a worm it must have roused him at last. An appeal respecting the succession to some lands in Fife was the case in which his patience gave way. In the first instance he ventured to take no notice of the usual order to present himself at the hearing of the cause. But he did not persist in this bold course. On receiving a second summons, he yielded obedience so far as to make his appearance in the English parliament on the day named, the 15th of October, 1293. When asked what defence he had to make to the appeal, he said,—"I am King of Scotland. To the complaint of the appellant, or to aught else respecting my kingdom, I dare not make answer without the advice of my people." "What means this?" cried Edward: "you are *my* liegeman; you have done homage to *me;* you are here

in consequence of *my* summons." Baliol, however, would only repeat his first answer. The parliament then resolved that the King of Scots had offered no defence; that in his answer he had been guilty of a manifest contempt of the court, and of open disobedience; that the appellant should have damages of the King of Scots; and, finally, "because it is consonant to law that every one be punished in that which emboldens him to offend, that the three principal castles of Scotland, with the towns wherein they are situated, and the royal jurisdiction thereof, be taken immediately into the custody of the king, and there remain until the King of Scots shall make satisfaction for his contempt and disobedience." On the prayer of Baliol, however, Edward, before this sentence was publicly intimated, consented to stay all proceedings till the day after the Feast of the Trinity in the following year. Before that day arrived, war between England and France broke out; and in the new position of his affairs, Edward had his hands too full of work in defending himself against his own liege lord to have leisure for the further humiliation and oppression of the King of Scots.

The opportunity was too tempting a one not to be seized by Baliol for a strenuous effort to cast off the yoke. Hitherto the nation had lain, as it were, stunned and in despair. Its old spirit now began to awaken as a new dawn of hope appeared. The nobles themselves,—they whose selfish or factious ambition had laid their country at the feet of the English king,—had many of them by this time been roused to a sense of the bondage into which they had fallen. Their first measures, however, were cautiously taken. A parliament, which met at Scone in the latter part of the year 1294, on pretence of lightening the public burdens, directed that all the Englishmen maintained at the court should be dismissed; and then appointed a council of four bishops, four earls, and four barons, without whose advice the king was restricted from performing any public act. It is asserted indeed by English writers that Baliol was at this time kept by his subjects in a state very closely resembling captivity.

The suspicions of Edward were excited by these proceedings. He required that Berwick, Roxburgh, and Jedburgh should be delivered to the Bishop of Carlisle, to remain in his hands during the war between England and France. With this demand the Scottish government deemed it prudent to comply, although they were at the moment negotiating an alliance with the French king. This treaty,—"the groundwork," observes Lord Hailes, "of many more, equally honourable and ruinous to Scotland," was signed at Paris on the 23rd of October, 1295. By it the King of Scots, "grievously offended at the undutiful behaviour of Edward to the King of France, his liege lord," engaged to assist Philip in his wars with his whole power, and at his own charges. Towards the end of March, 1296, accordingly, a Scottish army, consisting of 40,000 foot soldiers and 500 cavalry, invaded Cumberland, and, laying waste the country as they proceeded, marched to Carlisle, and attacked that place. Here, however, they were repulsed. Another inroad, which they made into Northumberland, was not more successful. Meanwhile Edward himself, at the head of a great army, was already at the borders. A pardon had been proclaimed for all outlaws and malefactors who should join the expedition; and the force which now rolled on to pour upon the Scottish rebels the vengeance of their English master, consisted of 30,000 foot and 4000 horse. Its numbers were farther swelled on its arrival in the north by a body of 1000 foot and 700 horse, brought by Anthony Beck, the warlike Bishop of Durham. The royal army marched direct upon the town of Berwick, which either had never been delivered by the Scots to the Bishop of Carlisle, according to their late promise, or had freed itself again from his authority. A strong garrison, composed of the men of Fife, now defended the town, besides a smaller force that held the castle. The English king commenced the attack at once by sea and land: of his ships, three were burnt, and the rest compelled to retire; but all resistance soon gave way before the impetuous onset of the soldiery; Edward himself, mounted on his horse Bayard, was the first who

leaped over the dike that defended the town. In the devastation and carnage that followed no quarter was given: the inhabitants, with the garrison, were indiscriminately butchered. The massacre was continued for two days.

Berwick was taken on the 30th of March. On the 5th of April, a bold ecclesiastic, Henry, abbot of Aberbrothock (otherwise Arbroath), arrived in the town a messenger from the Scottish king, and delivered to Edward Baliol's solemn renunciation of his allegiance and fealty. "What a piece of madness in the foolish traitor!" exclaimed Edward, when the message had been delivered; "since he will not come to us, we will go to him." A pause of a few weeks, to make the blow the surer, did not prevent this threat from being both speedily and effectually executed. Earl Warenne was first sent forward with a chosen body of troops to recover the castle of Dunbar, which the Countess of March had delivered to the Scots, while her husband, by whom it was held, served in the army of Edward. The Scottish army, in full strength, advanced to its relief, when they were engaged by Warenne, and completely routed, with the loss of 10,000 men. This action was fought on the 28th of April. The castle then surrendered at discretion. On the 18th of May that of Roxburgh was given up by James the Steward of Scotland, who at the same time swore fealty to Edward and abjured the French alliance. The castles of Dunbarton and Jedburgh soon after surrendered. That of Edinburgh stood a short siege, but it also soon capitulated: no attempt was made to defend that of Stirling. Thus, in the space of about two months, all the principal strongholds of the kingdom were in Edward's hand, and the conquest of the country was complete. A message now arrived from Baliol, offering submission and imploring peace. Edward, in reply, desired him to repair to the castle of Brechin, where the Bishop of Durham would announce to him the terms on which his surrender would be accepted. Soon after, Baliol laid down his kingly state in a ceremonial of the last degree of baseness and humiliation. The old

accounts differ as to the exact date, and also as to the scene of this penance; but it was most probably performed on the 7th of July, and, as the tradition of the neighbourhood still reports, in the churchyard of Strathkathro, in Angus.* Edward was at this time at Montrose.† He proceeded northward as far as Elgin—the nobility, wherever he passed, crowding in to swear fealty, and to abjure the French alliance. It was on his return from this triumphant progress that he ordered the famous stone on which the Scottish kings had been wont to be crowned, to be removed from the abbey of Scone, and conveyed to Westminster, in testimony, says an English contemporary chronicler, of the conquest and surrender of the kingdom.‡ He appears to have been at St. Johnstone's, or Perth, on Wednesday, the 8th of August. By the 22nd, he was once more at Berwick; and on the 28th he held a parliament in that town, at which great numbers both of the Scottish laity and clergy presented themselves to take the oaths of fealty. He then proceeded to finish his work, by settling the government of the conquered country. Here his measures were characterized by great prudence and moderation. He ordered the forfeited estates of the clergy to be restored. He even allowed most of the subordinate civil functionaries who had held office under Baliol to retain possession of their places. He left the various jurisdictions of the country in general in the same hands as before. The chief castles in the southern part of the kingdom, however, he intrusted to English captains; and he also placed some of his English subjects in command over certain of the more important districts. Finally, he appointed John de Warenne, Earl of Surrey, under the name of governor,

* See Hailes, i. 293; Tytler, i. 429, 430; and Chambers's Picture of Scotland, ii. 255.

† See a curious Diary of Edward's progress, published with explanatory remarks, by Sir N. H. Nicolas, from a MS. in the British Museum, in the 21st vol. of the Archæologia, pp. 478—498.

‡ Hemingford.

Hugh de Cressingham as treasurer, and William Ormesby as justiciary, to exercise the supreme authority.

But although Edward had put down the rebellion of the Scots, he had not subdued their spirit of resistance. Within a few months the country was again in insurrection. The last and all preceding attempts to throw off the foreign yoke under which the kingdom groaned had been made under the direction of the government; there was no longer any native government; but a great leader of the people had now stepped forth from their own ranks. This was the renowned William Wallace, the second son of a knight of ancient family, Sir Malcolm Wallace, of Ellerslie, in Renfrewshire. Wallace had all the qualities of a popular hero—a strength and stature corresponding to his daring courage, and also, it cannot be doubted from the known history of his career, as well as from his traditionary fame, many intellectual endowments of a high order,—decision, military genius, the talent of command, a stirring though rude eloquence, and in every way a wonderful power of reaching the hearts of men, and drawing them along with him. Above all, an enthusiastic patriotism, and a fierce and unextinguishable hatred of the English dominion, were passions so strong in Wallace, that while he lived, be the hour as dark as it might, all felt that the cause of the national independence never could be wholly lost.

Wallace is first mentioned in the month of May, 1297. At this time he was merely the captain of a small band of marauders, most of them probably outlaws like himself, who were accustomed to infest the English quarters by predatory attacks. Their numbers, however, rapidly grew as reports of their successful exploits were spread abroad. Suddenly we find the robber-chief transformed into the national champion, joined by some of the chief persons in the land, and heading an armed revolt against the government. The first person of note who joined Wallace was Sir William Douglas. He had commanded in the castle of Berwick when it was taken the preceding year by Edward; and after his surrender had been liberated upon swearing fealty to the English king. Dis-

regarding this oath, he now armed his vassals, and openly went over to Wallace. The united chiefs immediately marched upon Scone, the seat of the government. Earl Warenne was at this time absent in England, and Ormesby, the justiciary, was acting as his lieutenant. That functionary, with difficulty, saved his life by flight; but much booty and many prisoners fell into the hands of the insurgents, and the English government was, in fact, by this bold and brilliant exploit, for the moment overthrown.

Many persons of note now crowded to the once more uplifted standard of freedom and independence; the Steward of Scotland and his brother, Robert Wisheart, bishop of Glasgow, Alexander de Lindesay, Sir Richard Lundin, and Sir Andrew Moray of Bothwell, are especially mentioned. But no accession was more important, or more gladly welcomed, than that of the young Robert Bruce, the son of Robert Bruce who had married the Countess of Carrick, and the grandson of him who had been a competitor with Baliol for the crown. A few years before this, Bruce's father had resigned the earldom of Carrick, which he held in right of his wife, to his son; and the latter, by the possession of this lordship, now commanded a territory reaching from the Frith of Clyde to the Solway. The course taken by Baliol had hitherto naturally determined the conduct and position of the rival family. So long as Baliol had stood even nominally at the head of the patriotic cause, the Bruces were almost necessarily on the other side. In the last days of Baliol's reign the Scottish government issued an order confiscating the estates of all partisans of England and of all neutrals, which was principally aimed at the house of Bruce; and a grant of their estate of Annandale was made to Comyn, earl of Buchan, who actually took possession, in consequence, of the family castle of Lochmaben. This of course he did not long retain; but the wrong was not the less one, which in that fierce age never could be forgiven. Allowance must be made for these personal resentments and rivalries, and the opposition into which men were thereby thrown, in passing

judgment upon the conduct of many of the actors in this turbulent and bewildering drama. Bruce, eventually the great liberator of his country and restorer of the Scottish monarchy, makes his first appearance on the scene, soon after the fatal fight of Dunbar, in the unpatriotic part of a commissioner empowered by the conqueror to receive into favour the people of Carrick.* He was at this time only in his twenty-second year. His heart, however, was probably already drawing him, through doubts and misgivings, to the cause which he was at a future day so gloriously to illustrate. Now that Baliol was removed, the time for Bruce to show himself seemed to have come. Edward, it would appear, was not without some suspicion of what his inclinations were. He, therefore, had summoned him to Carlisle, and made him renew, on the sword of Becket, his oaths of allegiance and fidelity. In the national enthusiasm, however, excited by the first success of Wallace, he could restrain himself no longer. "I trust," he said, "that the pope will absolve me from oaths extorted by force;" and so, breaking from his bonds, he joined the army of the patriots.

But, in that camp, jealousies and dissensions were already actively at work, and disorganizing everything. Edward was embarking for Flanders when he received intelligence of the new Scottish revolt. The military force of the kingdom to the north of the Trent was instantly called into array by the Earl of Surrey; and as soon as the men could be collected, Sir Henry Percy and Sir Robert Clifford were sent forward to meet the insurgents at the head of an army of forty thousand foot and three hundred horse. They found the Scots, in nearly equal numbers, posted in a strong position in the neighbourhood of the town of Irvine, in Ayrshire. But no acknowledged leader controlled the irregular congregation of chiefs who had crowded with their retainers to the standard that Wallace had raised; his authority was disowned, or but reluctantly submitted to, by many of the proud knights and barons, who never before had

* Hailes, i. 292.

obeyed a plebeian general; and there were probably as many conflicting plans of operation as there were competitors for the supreme command. In this miserable state of affairs, it appeared to all who had anything to lose, that the wisest plan was to make their peace with the government before it should be too late. All the chief associates of Wallace accordingly, including Bruce, the Steward of Scotland, the Bishop of Glasgow, Sir Alexander Lindesay, Sir Richard Lundin, and even Sir William Douglas, the first who had joined him, laid down their arms after a short negotiation, and, for themselves and their adherents, made submission to Edward. The instrument in which they acknowledged their offences, and agreed to make every reparation and atonement that should be required by their sovereign lord, is dated at Irvine, the 9th of July.* Only one baron, Sir Andrew Moray of Bothwell, continued to adhere to Wallace. Many of the vassals, however, even of the lords and knights that had deserted him remained among his followers; and he withdrew to the north at the head of a force that was still numerous and formidable.

No farther effort seems to have been made by the government to put down the insurrection for several months. In the meanwhile, the army of Wallace was continually receiving accessions of numbers. By the beginning of September, it appears that he had driven the English from the castles of Brechin, Forfar, Montrose, and most of the other strongholds to the north of the Forth, and was now engaged in besieging the castle of Dundee. While there, he received information that an English army was marching upon Stirling. Leaving the siege to be continued by the citizens of Dundee, he led his whole force, amounting to forty thousand foot and a hundred and eighty horse, towards Stirling, and succeeded, by rapid marches, in reaching the banks of the Forth opposite to that town before the English had arrived. He immediately drew up his army so as to be partly concealed behind the neighbouring high grounds.

* Rymer, ii. 774.

The English army, commanded by the Earl of Surrey, soon appeared on the other side of the river; it is said to have consisted of one thousand horsemen and fifty thousand foot. On its being perceived how Wallace was posted, it was resolved to offer him terms before risking an engagement; but he refused to enter into any negotiation. That night no movement was made. Early the following morning (the 11th of September) the English began to pass over by the bridge,—a narrow wooden structure, along which, even with no impediment or chance of interruption of any kind to retard them, so numerous a force could not have been led in many hours. The issue was what it is unaccountable should not have been foreseen. Wallace waited till about half the English were passed over; then, detaching a part of his forces to take possession of the extremity of the bridge, as soon as he perceived the communication by this means effectually cut off, he rushed down upon the portion of the enemy who had thus put themselves in his power, as they were still forming, and in a moment threw them into an inextricable confusion. Many thousands of the English were slain or driven into the water. No prisoners, indeed, seem to have been taken; and nearly all the English that had crossed the river must therefore have been destroyed. One knight, however, Sir Marmaduke Twenge, putting spurs to his horse, gallantly cut his way back through the force that guarded the bridge, and regained the opposite side in safety. Surrey himself had not passed over; but, after the fortune of the day became clearly irrecoverable, charging Twenge to occupy the castle of Stirling with what remains of the army he could collect, he mounted his horse, and rode, without stopping, to Berwick. Even the portion of the army that had remained on the south side of the river seems to have been in great part dispersed. The loss of the Scots was trifling; the only man of note that fell was Sir Andrew Moray. A large quantity of spoil was taken. But the great result of the victory was nothing less than the almost complete liberation of the country once more from the English dominion. The castles of Edinburgh,

Dundee, Roxburgh, and Berwick, all immediately surrendered; and in a short time there was not a fortress, from one end of Scotland to the other, in the possession of the English king. Wallace soon after even invaded England, and for some time maintained his army in Cumberland,—a movement to which he was partly induced by a severe famine that now arose in Scotland, where unfavourable seasons had conspired with the waste of war to afflict the soil.

Thus was Scotland again lost by Edward even more suddenly than it had been won. He was still detained in Flanders by the war in which he had engaged with the French king for the recovery of Guienne, while his conquest nearer home was thus wrested out of his hands. It appears that strenuous efforts were made by Philip to have the Scots included in the benefit of the treaty of peace, the truce preliminary to which was agreed upon in October of this year.* But Edward would hear of no terms for those whom he called revolted subjects and traitors.

Edward returned to England about the middle of March, 1298, and instantly summoned the barons and other military tenants to reassemble with their powers at York on the Feast of Pentecost. With this immense army Edward proceeded in the first instance to Roxburgh. From this point he advanced, in the beginning of June, along the east coast, a fleet with supplies for the army having been sent forward to the Frith of Forth; but for several weeks no enemy, scarcely even any inhabitants, were to be seen, and the invaders could only take a useless revenge in wasting an already deserted country. The Scots meanwhile, under the direction of Wallace, had been collecting their strength in the interior; and many of the chief nobility, including Bruce, were now assembled again around the great national leader. Edward soon became involved in very serious difficulties; his ships were detained by contrary winds; and while he was waiting at Templeliston (now Kirk-

* See Rymer, new edit. i. 861; and Tytler, i. 173 and 435.

liston), a small town between Edinburgh and Linlithgow, till he should receive some intelligence of them before proceeding upon his design of penetrating into the west, an alarming mutiny broke out in the camp, originating in a quarrel between the English and the Welsh soldiers, the latter of whom were at one time on the point of withdrawing and joining the Scots. No news of the ships arriving, however, the scarcity of provisions soon became so distressing that a retreat to Edinburgh was resolved upon, when information was received that the Scottish army was encamped not far off in the wood of Falkirk. "Thanks be to God!" exclaimed Edward, "who hitherto hath delivered me from every danger; they shall not need to follow me; I will forthwith go and meet them." That night the army lay in the fields, the king himself sleeping on the ground. A kick from his horse, which stood beside him in the night, broke two of his ribs, and in the first confusion occasioned by the accident, a cry arose that the king was seriously wounded or killed,—that there was treason in the camp. Edward immediately, disregarding the pain he suffered, mounted his horse, and, as it was now dawn, gave orders to continue the march. The advanced guard of the enemy was first seen on the ridge of a hill in front, after they had passed Linlithgow. Soon after, the whole army was descried, forming, on a stony field, at the side of a small eminence in the neighbourhood of Falkirk.* Wallace divided the infantry of his army, which was greatly inferior in numbers to that of the English, into four circular bodies, armed with lances, which the men protruded obliquely, as they knelt with their backs against each other; the archers were placed in the intermediate spaces; the horse, of which there were only 1000, were drawn up at some distance in the rear. Edward's cavalry were ranged in the front of his battle, in three lines. The attack was made at the same time by the first of these, led by Bigod, Earl Marshal, and the Earls of Hereford and Lincoln; and by the second,

* Hailes, i. 314.

under the leading of the bold Bishop of Durham. The shock was gallantly met by the Scottish infantry, and for some time they stood their ground firmly. The cavalry, however, whether dismayed by the immense disparity between the numbers of the enemy and their own, or, as has been conjectured, from treason on the part of their commanders, fled without striking a blow; and, thus left without support against the repeated charges of the English horse, the lancers and archers also at length gave way, and the rout became complete. The battle of Falkirk was fought on the 22nd of July, 1298. It is said that 15,000 of the Scots fell on this fatal day. On the English side the loss was inconsiderable. Wallace retreated with the remains of his army to Stirling, whither he was pursued by the English; but when they arrived, he was gone, and the town was found reduced to ashes. The victorious invaders now carried fire and sword through the country in all directions. The whole of Fifeshire was laid waste and given up to military execution. The city of St. Andrews, which was found deserted, was set on fire and burnt to the ground. Perth was burnt by the inhabitants themselves on the approach of the English. Edward, however, was speedily obliged to leave the country from the impossibility of finding the means of subsisting his troops.

The expensive wars of Wales, Scotland, and Guienne, had caused Edward to oppress the English people with levies and taxes, in the raising of which he had not always respected the constitutional charter; while on some occasions he had recourse to artifices similar to those which had succeeded so badly with his father, Henry III. At one time he pretended that he had again taken the cross, and thus obtained the tenth of all church benefices for six years. A few years after this, he seized the moneys deposited in the churches and monasteries, and kept the greater part for his own uses, promising, however, to pay it back some time or other. His financial proceedings with the church show that times were materially altered—for the main weight of taxation was thrown upon that body. After obtaining a reluctant grant from

the lords and knights of the shire of a tenth on lay property, he demanded from the clergy a *half* on their entire incomes. Here, for the first time, he encountered a stern opposition on the part of the bishops, abbots, and common clergy; but they were bullied into compliance, being told, among other harsh things, that every "reverend father" who dared to oppose the king would be noticed as one who had broken the peace. This was in 1294. In the following year, having obtained a very liberal grant from parliament, he exacted a fourth from the churchmen, who again were obstinate, and obliged him, in the end, to be satisfied with a tenth. Besides these burdens, the church was sorely racked by the king's purveyors and commissaries, who, particularly during the more active parts of the Scotch war, continually emptied the store-houses, granaries, farm-yards, and larders, and carried off all the vehicles, horses, and other animals for the transport of army stores, in so much that the poor abbots and priors complained that they had scarcely a mule left in their stables upon which to go their spiritual rounds. At last they applied to the pope for protection, and Boniface VIII. granted them a bull, ordaining that the clergy should not vote away their revenues without the express permission of the holy see. But the pope was engaged in many troubles; the bull, which applied equally to all Christian countries, was strenuously opposed in France by Philip le Bel; and in the following year, 1297, he found himself obliged to publish a second bull, which explained away and stultified the first; for it provided, that whenever the safety of the kingdom required it, churchmen must pay their aids; and it left to the king and his council the right of deciding on the necessity. Before this second bull arrived, the English clergy, fancying that they were well supported by the previous document, met, and boldly refused some of Edward's demands; upon which he outlawed the whole body, both regular and secular, and seized their goods and chattels, not leaving bishop, parish priest, abbot, or monk, so much as bread to eat, or a bed to lie upon. As there were no Beckets in the land, these measures pro-

duced a general submission to the king's arbitrary will, even before the arrival of the explanatory bull.*

It was far otherwise when the king laid his greedy hand on the trading classes: they had borne a great deal in the way of tallages and increased export duties; but when he seized all the wool and hides that were ready for shipping, and sold them for his own profit, a universal and loud outcry was raised, notwithstanding his assurances that he would faithfully pay back the amount. The merchants assembled, the rich burghers, the landed proprietors of all classes consulted together; and their consultations were encouraged by some of the greatest of the nobles, who were not so blinded by the career of conquest and glory in which the king was leading them, as to be neglectful of their more immediate interests, or indifferent to those violent inroads on the national rights. Towards the end of February, 1297, Edward felt the effect of these deliberations. He had collected two armies, one of which was to go to Guienne, the other into Flanders; when the Earl of Hereford, the constable, and the Earl of Norfolk, the marshal of England, both refused to quit the country. Turning to the marshal, the king exclaimed, "By the everlasting God, Sir Earl, you shall go or hang." "By the everlasting God, Sir King, I will neither go nor hang;" and, so saying, Norfolk withdrew with Hereford. Thirty bannerets and 1500 knights immediately followed the marshal and the constable, and the king was left almost alone.† An incautious step at this moment might have cost him his crown or his life, but Edward was a wonderful master of his passions when necessary, and his craft and policy were fully equal to his merits as a warrior. He knew that the Archbishop of Canterbury and the clergy gave great weight to the present opposition, and these he detached by blandishments and promises. He knew that his brilliant exploits in war had endeared him to the unthinking multitude, and he also knew how to touch their hearts. The

* Rymer.—Brady.—Wykes.—Knight.—Heming.
† Heming.

measure he adopted was singularly dramatic: he stood forth before the people of London, mounted on a platform in front of Westminster Hall, nobody being near him save his son Edward, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Earl of Warwick: he told the people that nobody grieved more than he did for the burdensome taxes laid upon his dear subjects, but this burden was one of absolute necessity to preserve, not only his crown, but their blood from the Welsh, the Scots, and the French. Then, in the proper place falling into the pathetic, he said, "I am going to expose myself to all the dangers of war for your sakes. If I return alive I will make you amends for the past; but if I fall, here is my dear son, place him on my throne, his gratitude will be the rewarder of your fidelity!" Here he stopped, and let a few tears roll down his iron cheek. The archbishop wept; the spectators were tenderly affected; and, after a brief pause, the air was rent with shouts of applause and loyalty.* This display of enthusiasm gave the king great encouragement, and having issued writs for the protection of church property, and appointed his former opponent, the Archbishop of Canterbury, chief of the council of regency under Prince Edward, he went to embark for Flanders with such troops as he had kept together.

But a few days after he was brought to a halt at Winchester, by reports of the hostile spirit of the nobles; and while in that city a remonstrance, in the name of the archbishops, bishops, abbots, and priors, the earls, barons, and commons of England, was presented to him. After stating in broad terms that they were not bound to accompany the king to Flanders,—a country where neither they nor any of their ancestors had ever done service for the kings of England; and that even if they were inclined to take a part in that expedition, the poverty to which he had reduced them rendered them unable to do so: they went on to tell him that he had violated their charters and liberties; that his "evil toll" (so they

* Heming.—Knyghton.—Rymer.

called the export duty on wool) was excessive and intolerable, and that his present expedition to the continent was ill-advised, seeing that his absence would leave the country open to the incursions of the Scots and Welsh. The king evaded any very direct answer, and relying on the favourable disposition of the common people, he had the courage to depart in the very midst of these discontents.* He landed near Sluys in the end of August: his plans were concerted with his usual sagacity; but coalitions are faithless and uncertain things, and he had in Philip le Bel an opponent as crafty and, at the least, as unscrupulous as himself. These great kings had long struggled for possession of a young lady, — Philippa, daughter of Guy Count of Flanders. As early as the year 1294, Edward had concluded a treaty of marriage, which was to unite the fair Fleming to the Prince of Wales; but it was Philip's interest to prevent any close union between England and Flanders, and he resolved that the marriage should not take place. After many secret intrigues,—which failed, as both the young lady and her father were bent on the English union,—the French king invited Count Guy to meet him at Corbeil that he might consult him on matters of great importance. The Count, who was a frank, honest old man, went, and took his countess with him: he was no sooner in his power than Philip harshly reproached him with the English treaty,—told him that no *vassal* of the French crown, however great, could marry any of his children without the king's licence,—and then sent him and his wife prisoners to the tower in the Louvre.

This arbitrary and treacherous measure excited great disgust, and the better feeling of the French peers, and the remonstrances of a papal legate, forced Philip to liberate the old count and his countess. Before letting go his hold, however, he made Guy swear he would think no more of his English alliance. The count contracted the obligation; but this was not enough for the French king, who had broken too many oaths himself to have much reliance on those of other men: he demanded that

* Heming.—Wals.—Knyght.—Rymer.

Philippa should be placed in his hands as a hostage: and when that young lady was brought to Paris—and not before—her parents were liberated. As soon as Count Guy reached his own dominions, he made an affecting appeal to the pope; the church entered with some zeal into the case; but notwithstanding repeated threats of excommunication, Philip le Bel persisted in keeping his innocent hostage, who was not more than twelve years of age. At last, the old count formally renounced his allegiance, defied his suzerain, and entered heart and soul into a league with the English king. It was in consequence of this treaty, which was sworn to in the most solemn manner, that Edward went to Flanders, after preparing a formidable alliance. The other chief members of the coalition were, the emperor, the Duke of Austria—who had both been subsidized by Edward—and the Duke of Brabant and Count of Bar, who were his own sons-in-law by their marriage with the Princesses Margaret and Eleanor of England. When the hired allies got Edward's money, they seem to have considered their part of the business as done; and no member of the coalition was very faithful or strenuous, except the unhappy Count Guy. But the whole expedition became a series of misadventures, some of which were sufficiently disgraceful to the English conqueror. He had scarcely landed at Sluys, when the mariners of the Cinque Ports, and those of Yarmouth and other ports—between whom there were many rancorous old jealousies—quarrelled, and then fought as if they had been national enemies ranged under two opposite flags. On the Yarmouth side, five-and-twenty ships were burnt and destroyed in this wild conflict. The king's land-forces were scarcely in a better state of discipline, owing probably to the absence of most of the great officers whom they had been accustomed to obey. The disorders they committed did not tend to produce unanimity in the country, which was already in "evil state, by reason that the good towns were not all of one mind." The rich and populous cities of Flanders were, in fact, as jealous of each other, and split into almost as many factions as the little Italian re-

publics of the middle ages. Philip le Bel had a strong party among them, and that active sovereign had greatly increased it, and weakened his enemies, by marching into the Low Countries at the head of 60,000 men, and gaining a great victory at Furnes, before Edward could arrive. The French occupied many of the towns; and Lille, Courtrai, Ypres, Bruges, and Damme were either taken or given up to them soon after the landing of the English. Edward drove them out of Damme, and might have done the same at Bruges, had it not been that his English and the Flemings, who were serving with them, fell into strife, and fought about the division of the spoils of the town, which they had not yet taken. Soon after this, he went into winter quarters at Ghent, and there deadly feuds broke out between the townspeople and his troops: seven hundred of the latter were killed in a tumult, in which Edward's own life was endangered.

A.D. 1298.—Spring approached, but it brought no news of the inactive members of the coalition; and as Edward's presence was much wanted at home, he eagerly listened to overtures from Philip, concluded a truce for two years, and, leaving Count Guy to shift for himself, sailed, somewhat dishonoured, for England.

But his English subjects had not waited for this moment of humiliation to curb his power. As soon as he set sail for Flanders the preceding year, the Constable and Earl Marshal, with many other nobles, in presence of the Lord Treasurer and of the judges, forbade the officers of the Exchequer to exact payment of certain taxes which had been laid on without proper consent of parliament. The citizens of London and of the other great trading towns made common cause with the barons; and, after issuing some orders which the Exchequer durst not obey, and making some fruitless attempts at deception and evasion, Edward was obliged to send over from Ghent instructions to his son and the council of regency * to bend before a storm which there was no op-

* Several members of this council with the Archbishop

posing; and in the month of December, from the same city of Ghent, he was fain to grant, under the great seal, another confirmation of the two charters, together with a full confirmation of the important statute called "De Tallagio non Concedendo," declaring that henceforth no tallage or aid should be levied without assent of the peers spiritual and temporal, the knights, burgesses, and other freemen of the realm, which had been passed in a parliament held by Prince Edward in the preceding September. For many years parliament had exercised a salutary control in such matters, but this statute, for the first time, formally invested the representatives of the nation with the sole right of raising the supplies In full parliament, which met at York in the month of May, some six weeks after the king's return, the Earl of Hereford, the constable, and the Earl of Norfolk, the marshal, demanded of him that he would ratify in person, and with proper solemnities, his recent confirmation of the charters. Edward said that it could not be now, as he must hasten to chastise the Scottish rebels; but he promised to do what was asked of him on his return from the North, and he pledged solemn oaths, *vicariously*, the Bishop of Durham and three lay lords swearing, by the soul of the king, that he would keep his promise.*

It will prevent confusion to bring these transactions to one point, without regard to the strict chronological order in which they occurred. In March, 1299, Edward met his parliament again at Westminster. The bloody laurels of Falkirk were fresh on his brow: he had all the prestige of recent success; but, undaunted by his glory and might, the barons required the fulfilment of his promises. He endeavoured to gain time. When the lords urged him, he withdrew from parliament and got out of London, secretly, and as if by stealth; but these earnest men would not be evaded: they followed him; and then

of Canterbury at their head, were known to be favourable to the cause of reform.

* Heming.—Walsing.

the proud conqueror was compelled to make mean and debasing excuses. At last he granted the ratification so firmly demanded; but, with singular bad faith, he took parliament by surprise, and added a clause at the end of the document (a saving of the right of the crown) which utterly destroyed the value of the concession, and went to shake the very foundations of the Great Charter itself.

Upon this the mass of the barons returned suddenly to their homes. Edward was alarmed at their hostile countenance, but fancying he could delude the plain citizens, he ordered the sheriffs of London to call a public meeting, and to read the new confirmation of the charters. The citizens met in St. Paul's Churchyard, and listened with anxious ears: at every clause, except the last, they gave many blessings to the king, but when that last clause was read, the London burghers cursed as loud and as fast as they had blessed before. Edward took warning: he summoned the parliament to meet again shortly after Easter, and then he struck out the detested clause, and granted all that was asked of him in the forms prescribed.* Hereford, the constable, died shortly after the ratification, but his principles had taken too deep a root to be much injured by the death of any one man, however great. In the course of three years the king artfully contrived to punish, on other charges, and impoverish many of the barons who had most firmly opposed him; but this measure only convinced men more than ever of the vital necessity of restricting his power. In 1304 Edward arbitrarily sent to raise a tallage on all the cities and boroughs of his demesne; and in the following year he despatched secret envoys to the pope, to represent that the concessions he had made had been forced from him by a conspiracy of his barons, and to ask an absolution from his oaths and the engagements he had so repeatedly and solemnly contracted with his subjects. Notwithstanding Edward's instancing the case of his father, Henry III., who was absolved of his oaths to the

* Hemingford.—Knyghton.

Earl of Leicester, the answer of Clement V. was rather an evasive one. Thus, but slightly encouraged to perjury on the one hand,—awed by the unanimity of the barons on the other,—and then, once more embarrassed by a rising of the patriots in Scotland, who never left him long in tranquil enjoyment of his usurpation, the mighty Edward was compelled to respect his engagements and the will of the nation. It required, indeed, an "intrepid patriotism" to contend with and finally control such a sovereign, and England never has produced any patriots to whom she owes more gratitude than to Humphrey Bohun, earl of Hereford, and Roger Bigod, earl of Norfolk.

The vision of the splendid inheritance of Eleanor of Aquitaine still haunted Edward's imagination. With such an opponent as Philip le Bel he could scarcely hope to recover all those states which the divorced wife of Louis VII. conveyed to Henry II. of England; but he was resolved to get back at least the country of Guienne. Having experienced the uncertainty of foreign coalitions, and having no great army of his own to spare for continental warfare, Edward determined to obtain his end by treating diplomatically with the French king, and sacrificing his faithful ally, the Count of Flanders. In this he had more in view than the recovery of Guienne, for, as a price of his own treachery to Count Guy, he expected that Philip would be equally false to his treaty with the Scots, whom he had hurried into hostilities for his own purposes. Since Edward's campaign in Flanders, the arrogance and exactions of the French had almost destroyed their party in that country; and though they made a temporary conquest of it, the burghers of Ghent, Lille, Bruges, and the other free cities, gave them a signal defeat in the battle of Courtrai, which was fought in the year 1302. Philip's cousin, the Count of Artois, commanded the French on this occasion; and after his disgraceful defeat, all the Flemish towns threw off the French yoke, and elected John of Namur to be their governor-general, for Count Guy had been once more entrapped by Philip, who kept him a close pri-

soner. The French king was now as anxious to recover Flanders as Edward was to keep Scotland and to get back Guienne.

It appears that the pope, who had been appealed to as mediator, first suggested, as a proper means of reconciling the two kings, that Edward, who had been for some years a widower, should marry Margaret the sister of Philip; and that his eldest son, the Prince of Wales, should be affianced to Isabeau, or Isabella, the daughter of that sovereign. This double marriage had been for some time under discussion, and had given scope to much mutual deception. Each of the kings impudently affected a delicacy of conscience about abandoning his allies, and Edward stated (what was perfectly true) that he had pledged his soul and honour to the marriage between the Prince of Wales and Philippa, the daughter of the unfortunate Earl of Flanders;—that he, King Edward, had sworn upon the Gospels to make neither peace nor truce with France unless it were conjointly with his ally the Earl of Flanders. Philip le Bel, on his side, spoke of his allies, the brave, the unfortunate Scots, and of the solemn obligations he had contracted with them; but each gracious king must have laughed at the other, and probably at himself, too, in making this interchange of scruples of conscience. Edward married Margaret of France, in September, 1299; and at the same time his son, who was thirteen years old, was contracted to Isabella, who was about six years old. A sort of congress, held at Montreuil, which preceded this marriage, had settled that there should be peace between the French and English crowns, that the King of England should make satisfaction for the many French ships which his mariners had taken at the beginning of the war, and that the King of France should place sundry towns in Gascony in the custody of the pope, to be by him held till the Guienne question should be adjusted by peaceful negotiation. This treaty, however, had not been properly ratified; Philip le Bel quarrelled with the arbiter, and even instigated Sciarra Colonna to arrest and ill-treat Pope Boniface. Other circumstances had prevented the

accommodation; but at last, on the 20th of May, 1303, the treaty of Montreuil was ratified, a treaty of commerce was concluded between the two countries, and Edward recovered Guienne, for which the Earl of Lincoln swore fealty and did homage in his name. In this treaty the Scots were not even mentioned. Philip, indeed, had bargained with Edward to abandon Scotland if he would abandon Flanders. The fate of Count Guy and of his innocent daughter was sad in the extreme. After keeping him four years in close prison, Philip le Bel liberated the count in a moment of difficulty, and sent him into Flanders to induce his own subjects to convert a truce they then had with the French into a lasting peace. The count went, and not succeeding in his mission, he honourably returned, as he had promised to do in that case, to Philip, who again committed him to prison. The poor old man died soon after at Compeigne. But neither the battle of Monts-en-Puelle, nor a series of bloody engagements which followed it, could break the spirit of the free citizens of Flanders, whose wealth gave them many advantages over the miserably poor aristocracy of France, and whose numbers, considering the limited extent of the country they occupied, were truly prodigious. "By St. Denis," cried Philip, "I believe it rains Flemings!" At last he condescended to treat on moderate terms with the trading and manufacturing citizens; and, about a year after the ratification of the treaty with Edward, he agreed to a truce for ten years. Robert, the eldest son of Count Guy, was then liberated, and entered on possession of Flanders; the body of the octogenarian state-prisoner, which had been embalmed, was delivered up; and his younger son and many Flemish gentlemen recovered their liberty. But in this general enlargement the fair Philippa,—the, at one time, affianced bride of Prince Edward of England,—was excepted; and she died of grief and captivity not long after, about two years before Edward of Caernarvon completed his marriage with Isabella of France. The events which rose out of this ill-fated marriage might have satisfied the manes of the most revengeful; and it could hardly happen

otherwise than that they should be interpreted into a direct judgment of Heaven provoked by political perfidy.

All this while Edward had never ceased to be occupied with his design of completing the subjugation of Scotland. The four years that followed the battle of Falkirk were productive of no important results. Wallace disappears from the scene after his great defeat. In his room, the barons appointed William Lamberton, bishop of St. Andrew's, John de Soulis, John Comyn the younger, and Robert Bruce earl of Carrick, guardians of the kingdom in the name of Baliol. This was indeed a strange union of all the great factions, Bruce acting in the name of Baliol, and associated in the same commission with Comyn, the only person who stood between him and the throne if Baliol should be set aside; for Comyn was the son of Baliol's sister Marjory, and, failing King John and his issue, the heir of right to the crown. John Baliol, who had remained a prisoner in the Tower of London since his abdication in 1296, was liberated by Edward on the intercession of Pope Boniface, in July, 1299, and conveyed to his ancestral estate of Bailleul in Normandy, where he lived in quiet till his death in 1314. Edward Baliol, who had been his father's fellow-prisoner, accompanied him to France; but of him we shall hear more in the sequel. It was not till November, 1299, that the English king found leisure from his other affairs to set about preparations for the prosecution of the Scottish war, and the effort he then made ended in nothing; for after an army had been assembled at Berwick in November, his barons, alleging his continued evasion of the charters, peremptorily refused to advance, and he was obliged to return home. The consequence was the capitulation of the castle of Stirling to a Scottish force that had been for some time besieging it. In the summer of 1300, Edward made an incursion into Annandale and Galloway; but it was attended with no result except the devastation of the former of these districts, and the formal and useless submission of the latter. On the 30th of October, a truce with the Scots was concluded at Dumfries, to last till Whit-Sunday in the following year.

Pope Boniface VIII. now claimed Scotland as belonging of right to the Roman see, and forbade Edward to continue the war; but the English parliament as well as the English king denied the right, and cared not for the prohibition. The truce having expired, Edward, in the summer of 1301, again marched into Scotland. This campaign, however, was still more unproductive than the last; the Scots, as the English king advanced, laid the country waste before him, till at last, an early and severe winter coming on, he was compelled to retire into the town of Linlithgow. In January, 1302, by the mediation of France, he was induced to conclude another truce with the Scots, to endure till the 30th of November (St. Andrew's Day). As soon as the truce had expired, he prepared to renew the war. This time, however, instead of proceeding to Scotland in person, he sent thither John de Segrave, at the head of an army of 20,000 men, mostly cavalry. The issue of this expedition was eminently disastrous. Segrave, advancing towards Edinburgh, was suddenly attacked early in the morning of the 24th of February, 1303, in the neighbourhood of Roslin, by the Scottish forces under the command of Comyn, the guardian, and Sir Simon Fraser, and sustained a total defeat.

But the termination of the dispute with France now left Edward free to turn with his whole power to the Scottish war. The treaty of Montreuil was ratified at Paris, as above related, on the 20th of May; on the 21st of that month, the English king was with his army at Roxburgh, and, on the 4th of June, he had reached Edinburgh, his progress having been marked at every step by fields laid waste and towns and villages set on fire. From Edinburgh he appears to have pursued his unresisted and destructive course by Linlithgow and Clackmannan to Perth, and thence to Aberdeen and Kinloss in Moray. At the strong and extensive fortress of Lochendorb, built on an islet in the midst of a lake, he established his quarters for some time, while he received the homage and oaths of fealty of the northern barons. From this remote point he returned southwards

in the latter part of October. Of all the places of strength to which he came, the castle of Brechin alone shut its gates against him. The garrison, however, capitulated the day after their brave commander Sir Thomas Maule had been slain. Edward took up his winter-quarters in Dunfermline in the beginning of December. The last remnant of the Scottish forces that kept the field now assembled in the neighbourhood of Stirling, with the view of protecting that fortress, the only place in the country that still held out. But the advance of Edward and his cavalry at once dispersed this little army. Shortly after, on the 9th of February, 1304, Comyn, by whom it had been commanded, and some other noblemen, made their submission to the commissioners of the English king at Strathorde,* in Fifeshire. It was agreed that they should retain their lives, liberties, and lands, subject only to such fines as Edward might impose. The capitulation was to include all other persons who might choose to take advantage of it, with the exception only of Wisheart, bishop of Glasgow, the Steward, and Sir John Soulis, who were to remain in exile for two years, and not to pass to the north of the Trent; of David de Graham and Alexander de Lindesay, who were to be banished from Scotland for six months; of Simon Fraser and Thomas Bois, who were to be banished for three years from all the dominions of Edward, and also to be prohibited from passing into France; and, closing the honourable list, the illustrious Wallace, to whom it was significantly accorded that, if he chose, he might render himself up to the will and mercy of Edward. Not long after, a parliament was assembled at St. Andrew's, in which sentence of outlawry was pronounced against Wallace, Fraser, and the garrison of Stirling. All the persons above named eventually surrendered themselves on the terms offered to them; even Fraser at length gave himself up: Wallace alone stood out.

Scotland, however, was not yet completely subdued so

* This place, we believe, is not now known.

long as its chief place of strength, the castle of Stirling, remained unreduced. To the siege of this fortress, therefore, Edward now addressed himself. The operations commenced on the 22nd of April. Thirteen warlike engines were brought to be used against the devoted walls; and the ample leaden roof of the cathedral of St. Andrew's was torn off to assist in the construction of these formidable machines. Some of them threw stones of two and three hundred weight. Edward himself directed everything that was done. He was several times struck by stones and javelins thrown from the castle. After the siege had continued nearly a month, without much progress having been made, the sheriffs of York, Lincoln, and London were commanded to purchase all the bows, quarrels, and other warlike weapons that could be procured within their districts, and to send them to Stirling; and the governor of the Tower was also desired to send down immediately a supply from London. All the efforts of the assailants were repelled for two months longer by Sir William Oliphant and his handful of gallant associates. They held out till their provisions were exhausted and the castle was reduced almost to a heap of ruins. Then, on the 20th of July, they surrendered at discretion. The governor and twenty-four of his companions of rank, all except two of them who were ecclesiastics, stripped to their shirts and under garments, were led forth from the castle, and presenting themselves before Edward on their bent knees, with their hair dishevelled and their hands joined in supplication, acknowledged their guilt with trembling and the semblance of shedding tears, and gave themselves up to his mercy. Their lives were spared, and they were sent to the Tower of London and other English prisons.

A few months after the fall of Stirling, the last enemy that Edward had to dread seemed to be cut off by the capture of Wallace. It appears that Edward had anxiously sought to discover his retreat, and that, tempted by the prospect of the rewards his baseness might earn for him, Ralph de Haliburton, one of the prisoners lately ıken at Stirling, had proffered his services for that pur-

pose. It is not clear, however, that it was by Haliburton's exertions that Wallace was actually taken; all that is certainly known is, that, upon being seized, he was conveyed to the castle of Dumbarton, then held under a commission from the English king by Sir John Menteith.* He was brought to London, "with great numbers of men and women," says Stow, "wondering upon him. He was lodged in the house of William Delect, a citizen of London, in Fenchurch-street. On the morrow, being the eve of St. Bartholomew, he was brought on horseback to Westminster . . . . . and in the great hall at Westminster, he being placed on the south bench, crowned with laurel—for that he had said in times past that he ought to bear a crown in that hall, as it was commonly reported—and being appeached for a traitor by Sir Peter Malorie, the king's justice, he answered, that he was never traitor to the King of England; but for other things whereof he was accused, he confessed them." Wallace was put to death as a traitor, on the 23rd of August, 1305, at the usual place of execution —the Elms in West Smithfield. He was dragged thither at the tails of horses, and there hanged on a high gallows, after which, while he yet breathed, his bowels were taken out and burnt before his face. The head was afterwards placed on a pole on London Bridge; the right arm was sent to be set up at Newcastle, the left arm to Berwick, the right foot and limb to Perth, and the left to Aberdeen.

A few weeks after the execution of Wallace, ten commissioners, elected by a council of the Scottish nation, which Edward had summoned to meet at Perth, assembled in London, and there, in concert with twenty commissioners from the English parliament, proceeded

* There is a very able and spirited vindication of Sir John Menteith in Mr. Mark Napier's 'Memoirs of John Napier of Merchistan,' 4to. Edin. 1834, pp. 527, &c. See also 'Tracts Legal and Historical,' by J. Riddell, Esq., 8vo. Edin. 1835, pp. 145—149. The admirable Hailes first pointed out the improbabilities and unfounded assumptions of the vulgar account, Annals, i. 343, 344.

to settle a plan of government for the conquered country. The whole arrangement, however, was overthrown ere it had been well established. Within six months from the death of Wallace, the Scots were again up in arms, around a new champion.

This was Robert Bruce. Bruce had again made his peace with England some time before the capitulation of Comyn and his friends at Strathorde, which he was enabled the more easily to effect, inasmuch as he had not been present at the battle of Falkirk, having previously shut himself up in the castle of Ayr, and refused to join the Scottish army. Edward had since sought to secure his adherence, by treating him with favour and confidence. When his father, who had all along continued attached to the English interests, died, in the latter part of the year 1304, young Bruce was permitted to take possession of the whole of his estates both in England and Scotland. At the settlement of the latter kingdom, in the following year, while his great rival, Comyn, was fined, Bruce was entrusted with the charge of the important fortress of Kildrummie, in Aberdeenshire, by commission from the English king. It is never to be forgotten that, up to this time, whatever his aversion to the English domination may have been, there had been repelling circumstances of the strongest nature to prevent Bruce from taking part with the patriotic party, who, although they were contending against England, acted in the name and chiefly under the conduct of the enemies of his house and person—of the family which he looked upon as having come between him and his splendid birthright. Wallace might fight for Baliol; Bruce scarcely could. And as little, after Baliol might be considered to be set aside, should he ally himself with Comyn, the near connexion of Baliol and the inheritor of his pretensions. Bruce, indeed, if he still retained a hope of seating himself on the disputed throne, must now have looked upon Comyn as the man of all others of whom it was most necessary for him to clear his path; and the same also no doubt were the feelings of Comyn in regard to Bruce. It is probable that the favour of Edward was courted by

each with the object of depressing or destroying his rival. The circumstances, however, that led to the explosion of the inflammable elements which only required to be brought together to produce such a catastrophe, are involved in much uncertainty. It appears, that in June, 1305, after his last submission to Edward, Bruce had entered into a secret league with William de Lamberton, bishop of St. Andrew's, by which the parties mutually bound themselves to stand by each other against all persons whatsoever. This curious instrument is still preserved.* It is supposed that Comyn had obtained a knowledge of this agreement, and that thereupon a conference on the subject of their pretensions took place between him and Bruce, when Bruce proposed either that he should have the crown and Comyn his estates, or that he should have Comyn's estates and Comyn the crown. It was agreed that Bruce's title to the crown should be supported by both. With whatever views Comyn may have entered into this negotiation, he eventually (so proceeds the story) communicated all that had taken place to Edward. Bruce received the first intimation of his danger from Edward's son-in-law, the Earl of Gloucester. Early the next morning, Bruce set out for Scotland. On his way he met a person on foot, whom he found to be the bearer of letters from Comyn to Edward, urging his death or immediate imprisonment. He slew this man, and with the letters in his possession pressed forward to the castle of Lochmaben. The most of this, it must be confessed, is more like fiction than fact. It is certain, however, that on the 10th of February, 1306, Bruce and Comyn met alone in the convent of the Minorites at Dumfries, and that there a passionate altercation having arisen between them, Bruce drew his dagger, and stabbed Comyn as they stood together beside the high altar. Hurrying from the sanctuary, he called "to horse!" and when his attendant, seeing him pale and violently agitated, inquired the cause, "I doubt," he replied, "I have slain Comyn." "You doubt?" ex-

* See it printed in Hailes, i. 342.

claimed Roger Kirkpatrick; "I'll make sure." And, with these words, he rushed into the church, and gave the wounded man his death-stroke.

Whatever might have been Bruce's previous plans, there was no room for doubt or hesitation now. He called his friends around him—they were few in number; but, desperate as the hazard looked, there were some gallant spirits that did not shrink from setting their lives upon another cast for the freedom of their country. The Bishops of St. Andrew's and Glasgow, the Abbot of Scone, Bruce's four brothers, Edward, Nigel, Thomas, and Alexander, his nephew, Thomas Randolph, his brother-in-law, Christopher Seton, and some ten or twelve others, mostly young men, gathered at the summons. They met at Glasgow, and from thence rode to Scone, where Bruce was solemnly crowned on the 27th of March.

Edward was at Winchester when the news of this revolution was brought to him. He immediately sent forward the Earl of Pembroke, at the head of a small army, to check the insurgents; and, advanced in years as he now was, proceeded to make ready to follow in person. In preparation for the expedition, proclamation was made that the Prince of Wales would be knighted on the feast of Pentecost; and all the young nobility of the kingdom were summoned to appear at Westminster to receive that honour along with him. On the eve of the appointed day (the 22nd of May) two hundred and seventy noble youths assembled in the gardens of the Temple, in which the trees were cut down that they might pitch their tents; they watched their arms all night, according to the usage of chivalry. On the morrow Prince Edward was knighted by his father, and then conferred that honour on his companions. A magnificent feast followed, at which two swans covered with nets of gold being set on the table by the minstrels, the king rose and made a solemn vow to God and to the swans, that he would avenge the death of Comyn, and punish the perfidy of the Scottish rebels; and then addressing his son and the rest of the company, he conjured them, in the event of

his death, to keep his body unburied until his successor should have accomplished this vow. The next morning the prince with his companions departed for the borders; Edward himself followed by slow journeys, being only able to travel in a litter.

Meanwhile Bruce had acquired such strength that in several parts of the country the officers of Edward had fled in terror. He now marched upon Perth, where the Earl of Pembroke lay. That same evening (19th of June) the English fell upon the Scots: it was rather a rout than a battle; Bruce himself was in the greatest danger, having been three times unhorsed; Randolph and others of his friends were taken; and he with difficulty made good his retreat into the fastnesses of Athol, with about five hundred followers, the broken and dispirited remnant of his force. For many months after this, he and his friends were houseless fugitives; a price was set upon their heads: to make their difficulties and sufferings the greater, they were joined after some time by a party of their wives and daughters; and as they penetrated farther and farther into the depths of the Highlands, to avoid the English troops, their miseries became daily more pressing. At last Bruce's queen and the other ladies were conducted by his young brother Nigel to the castle of Kildrummie; and Bruce himself found means to pass over to the little isle of Rachrin on the coast of Ireland.

While the Scottish king lay concealed here, ruin fell upon almost all the connexions and adherents he had left behind. The Bishops of St. Andrew's and Glasgow, and the Abbot of Scone, had fallen into the hands of the English: they were taken clad in armour, and were immediately sent, so attired and in fetters, to England, and there consigned to different prisons. Bruce's queen and his daughter Marjory having taken refuge in the sanctuary of St. Duthac, at Tain, in Ross-shire, were seized there by the Earl of Ross. The knights who were with them were put to death; and they themselves were sent to England, where they endured an imprisonment of eight years. The youthful Nigel Bruce was compelled to sur-

render the castle of Kildrummie, and, being sent in irons to Berwick, was there hanged and afterwards beheaded, along with divers other knights and gallant men. Christopher Seton suffered a similar death at Dumfries, the Earl of Athol and Sir Simon Fraser in London, and many others there and elsewhere.

Bruce, however, had not been idle in his winter retreat; and early in the spring of 1307 he passed over from Rachrin to the isle of Arran, with a company of about three hundred men, embarked in thirty-three galleys. Before venturing to the opposite coast, he despatched one of his followers to ascertain what were the dispositions of the people. When the Scots approached the landing-place, Bruce's emissary stood on the shore. He told them that the English were in complete possession of Carrick; that Lord Percy, with a numerous garrison, held the castle of Turnberry; and that there was no hope of a rising in favour of Bruce. Bruce hesitated what to do; but his brother Edward boldly declared for pursuing their enterprise. They immediately attacked a body of the English, and succeeded in putting most of them to the sword. Percy did not dare, in his ignorance of the numbers of the enemy, to come forth from the castle. After this exploit, Bruce sought shelter in the mountainous parts of the country. But the blow he had struck sufficed to rekindle the war, and it soon raged in different quarters. In the beginning of February, Bruce's brothers, Thomas and Alexander, with a band of eleven hundred adventurers from Ireland, were routed in Galloway by Duncan Mac Dowal, a chief of that region, who immediately carried the two brothers, who had fallen into his hands severely wounded, to the English king at Carlisle. Edward ordered both to instant execution. Some weeks after this, Douglas Castle, which was held by Lord Clifford, was gallantly surprised by its former owner, Sir James Douglas, one of Bruce's most distinguished followers. On this occasion Douglas behaved with distinguished ferocity. It was some time, however, before Bruce was strong enough to show himself openly in the field; and he was frequently

again in great personal danger as he skulked from one hiding-place to another in the wilds of Galloway. But at length he ventured to encounter the Earl of Pembroke at Loudon Hill; when, notwithstanding a great inferiority of numbers, he obtained a complete victory. This action was fought on the 10th of May. Three days after, he attacked another English force under the command of the Earl of Gloucester; and this, too, he succeeded in routing with great slaughter.

But here we must break off our account of events in Scotland for the present. King Edward all this while had advanced no farther than to Carlisle, having been detained all the winter and spring at Lanercost, by a serious illness. He had directed all the late operations of the war from his sick-bed; but now, incensed at the continued progress of the insurrection, he offered up the litter on which he had thus far been carried in the cathedral church of Carlisle, and again mounting on horseback, gave orders to proceed towards the borders. It was the effort of a dying man. In four days he advanced about six miles, when, having reached the village of Burgh-upon-Sands, he there stopped once more for the night; and on the morning of the next day, the 7th of July, expired, in the sixty-ninth year of his age, and thirty-fifth of his reign. His last breath was spent in enjoining upon those who should succeed him, the prosecution of the great design of his life—the complete subjugation of Scotland.

Edward II.—Surnamed of Caernarvon.

A.D. 1307.—The death of Edward I. was concealed in the capital for many days, and Ralph de Baldoc, bishop of London and chancellor of the kingdom, continued to put his great seal to writs till the 25th of July. Edward II., however, had been peacefully recognised at Carlisle by the unanimous consent of the peers and magnates present with the army there, on Saturday, the 8th of July, the day after his father's death.* This prince had the outward appearance of many advantages; he was young, of an agreeable person, and cheerful disposition; but he had already betrayed weaknesses that would overthrow the strongest throne, and had incurred the suspicion of vices which, when once proclaimed, were sure singularly to irritate a manly nation. On his death-bed his father had implored him to eschew the company of favourites and parasites, and had forbidden him, under pain of his curse, to recall his chief minion, Gaveston, to England. Piers Gaveston was a handsome youth of Gascony, who had been brought up with the prince. The stern old king had driven him from England; but, forgetful of his dying injunctions, and his own solemn oaths, Edward's first thoughts on his accession were to recall this favourite, and confer upon him the earldom of Cornwall, with other honours and immense estates. He was obliged, however, to make a semblance of prosecuting the war in Scotland; he marched as far north as Cumnock, on the borders of Ayrshire; but at this point he turned round, and made his way back to England, without having performed anything. Meanwhile, Gaveston, who had hastily arrived from the continent,

* Walsingham says he succeeded to the crown, "non tam jure hæreditario, quam unanimi assensu procerum et magnatum."

joined him in Scotland, and had scarcely made his appearance when the whole body of the government was changed. The chancellor, the treasurer, the barons of the Exchequer, the judges,—all the officers who had been appointed by the deceased king, were deprived of their places, and in some instances stripped of their property and thrown into prison. Instead of fulfilling his father's solemn behest, Edward buried his bones in Westminster Abbey, at the head of Henry III., on the 27th day of October; and soon after he gave the money which the old king had set apart for the Holy War to his insatiable favourite. Indeed, the whole of Edward's care seems to have been to enrich and aggrandise Gaveston. The great earldom of Cornwall, which had been appanage enough for princes of the blood, was not deemed sufficient for this Gascon knight. Edward married him to his own niece, Margaret de Clare, made him lord chamberlain, and gave him an extensive grant of lands in Guienne.*

When the infatuated Edward sailed for France, in January, 1308, to marry the Princess Isabella, to whom he had long been contracted, he left Gaveston regent of the kingdom during his absence, and intrusted him with more absolute powers than had ever been conferred in such cases. The Princess Isabella, daughter to Philip le Bel, was reputed the most beautiful woman in Europe,—*une des plus belles dames du monde*, according to Froissart. But Edward from the first was rather indifferent to her person. They were married with great pomp in "our Lady Church of Boulogne," on the 25th of January. Edward showed the greatest impatience to return to England: the usual rejoicings were cut short, and he embarked with his bride and a numerous company of French nobles and princes. Soon after their landing they were met by Gaveston and by the flower of the English nobility, who came to salute their young and beautiful queen. At this moment, paying no attention to his wife, or his guests, or to the rest of his subjects,

* De la More.—Walsing.—Trivet.

Edward threw himself into the arms of his favourite, hugged and kissed him, and called him brother. The whole court was disgusted at this exhibition. At the coronation, which was celebrated with great magnificence at Westminster on the 24th of February, nearly all the honours were allotted to the favourite, without any regard to the hereditary offices of the great barons. Four days after the coronation the barons petitioned the king to banish Sir Piers Gaveston immediately. Edward promised to give them an answer in parliament, which was to meet after the festival of Easter, and in the mean while he did all he could to disarm their resentment. But the favourite himself had no discretion. When the parliament met Edward was obliged to part with his minion. Gaveston took an oath that he would never return to England, and the bishops bound him to his oath by threats of excommunication. The king accompanied him to Bristol, where he embarked; but a few weeks after it was ascertained that the exile had been appointed governor of all Ireland, and that he had established himself in that island with almost royal magnificence. From the time of his departure till that of his return,—a space of thirteen months,—the whole soul of the king seems to have been absorbed by this one subject: he employed every expedient to mitigate the animosity of his barons; he wrote to Rome for a dispensation for Gaveston from his oath; and having, as he fancied, removed all dangerous opposition to the measure, he sent to recall the favourite from Ireland. They met at Chester, with a wonderful display of tenderness on the part of the king. The parliament assembled at Stamford, and the promises of the king, and the affected humility of Gaveston, obtained a formal consent to his re-establishment in England.

The king was now happy; his court was filled wit buffoons, parasites, and such like pernicious instruments and nothing was seen there but feasting and revelry. A the same time the upstart favourite became more arrogar and insolent than he had ever been before. Even th queen was so disgusted with this man's predominancy

that she sent complaints to the king her father, and conceived an aversion to her husband, which was never afterwards removed. The barons, before voting supplies, had several times made Edward promise a redress of grievances; but when he summoned a parliament to meet at York, in October, 1309, three months after the favourite's return from Ireland, most of the barons refused to attend, alleging that they stood in fear of the power and malice of Gaveston. The urgency of the king's wants obliged him to repeat his summons, but still they came not. The favourite then withdrew; and at last the barons announced that they would assemble at Westminster. They met in the month of March, 1310; but every baron came in arms, and Edward was completely in their power. He was obliged to consent to the appointment of a committee of peers, who should have to reform not only the state, but also the royal household. The committee was appointed by the primate, seven bishops, eight earls, and thirteen barons, who acknowledged under their signatures that it was not to be considered as a precedent for trenching on the royal prerogative; and that the functions of the committee should cease at the feast of St. Michael in the following year. The committee, called "ordainers," sate in London. The king was scarcely out of their sight when he was once more joined by Gaveston. The two passed the winter and the following summer at Berwick and the country about the Scotch borders, doing little or nothing.

In the month of August, 1311, Edward was obliged to meet his parliament at Westminster. The barons were in a worse humour than ever: they recalled all grants made by the king to his favourite; they decreed that all made thereafter, without consent of parliament, should be invalid; that Gaveston should be banished, on pain of death in case of return; that the king should not leave the kingdom or make war without the consent of the baronage; that the baronage, in parliament assembled, should appoint a guardian or regent during the royal absence; and that all the great officers of the crown, and the governors of foreign possessions, should

at all times be chosen by the baronage, or with their advice and assent in parliament. The king had once more confirmed the great charter, the preceding year, before going to the north, but now a new and important provision was introduced respecting the meeting of parliament:—"Forasmuch as many people be aggrieved by the king's ministers against right, in respect to which grievances no one can recover without a common parliament, we do ordain that the king shall hold a parliament once a year, or twice if need be." More for the sake of his favourite, than from any other motive, Edward made a show of resistance, but he was compelled to yield, and he affixed his signature to them all in the beginning of October. On the 1st of November following, after many tears, he took leave of Gaveston, who retired to Flanders. The king then dissolved the parliament, and cautiously retired to the north, where he hoped to collect an army that would stand for him. At York, in less than two months from his last departure, Gaveston was again with his royal master, who made him a new grant of all his estates and honours. But the career of the favourite was now drawing to its close. The barons, headed by the great Earl of Lancaster, the king's cousin, fell suddenly upon the royal party at Newcastle. Edward had time to escape, and he sailed away on board a vessel with Gaveston, leaving his beautiful wife behind him with the greatest indifference. Lancaster caused the queen to be treated with all respect, and then marched to lay siege to Scarborough Castle, into which the favourite had thrown himself. The castle was not tenable, and the favourite surrendered on capitulation on the 19th of May, 1312, to the Earl of Pembroke, who pledged his faith that no harm should happen to him, and that he should be confined in his own castle of Wallingford. From Scarborough he travelled, under the escort of Pembroke, as far as Dedington, and here the earl left him to pay a visit to his countess, who was in that neighbourhood. Gaveston appears to have had no foreboding of his fate: on the following morning he was ordered to dress speedily: he obeyed and descended to the court-

yard, where, to his confusion, he found himself in the presence of—the grim Earl of Warwick, who was attended by a large force. They put him on a mule, and carried him to Warwick Castle, where his entrance was announced by a crash of martial music. In the castle-hall a hurried council, composed of the Earls of Lancaster, Hereford, and Arundel, and other chiefs, sate upon the prisoner. A proposal was made, or a hint was offered, that no blood should be shed; but a voice rung through the hall,—"You have caught the fox; if you let him go you will have to hunt him again." This death-note had its effect; the capitulation of Scarborough was foully disregarded, and it was resolved to put an end to the unhappy man in conformity with the ordinance passed by parliament for his last exile. He threw himself at the feet of the Earl of Lancaster, but there was no mercy there. They hurried him at once to Blacklow-hill, a gentle knoll a mile or two from the castle, and there, in view of the beautiful windings of the river Avon, they struck off his head.*

This tragedy, unusual in England even in those turbulent times, threw the king into an agony of grief; but when he dried his tears he thought of revenge. For six months Edward and his barons were in arms against each other, but no battle took place, and a temporary reconciliation was effected at the end of the year. Two meetings of parliament (A.D. 1313) confirmed and completed this treaty. The barons knelt before the king in Westminster Hall, amnesties were published, and the plate and jewels of the deceased favourite were surrendered to Edward. But when they asked him to declare Gaveston a traitor, he resolutely refused.† This year Edward took the field in something like earnest, but he only marched to Scotland to add the disgrace of a defeat in regular war to the other reverses of his reign.

Ever since the death of Edward I., the English dominion in the greater part of Scotland had been little

* Rymer.—Walsing.—Knyghton.
† Rymer.—Walsing.—Statutes 7th Ed. II.

more than nominal. The progress of Bruce in liberating the country had been continued and steady. Edward, on returning home, in the autumn of 1307, had left the war to be conducted by the Earl of Richmond, who was supported by that part of the nation which was opposed to Bruce's assumption of the crown. The latter, therefore, had both an English and a Scottish, both a foreign and a domestic enemy, to contend with. The great body of his countrymen soon became warmly attached to his cause; but in some districts even the popular feeling was hostile, and a powerful faction of the nobility was arrayed in determined resistance to his pretensions. For the present at least, and until they should have attained their immediate object of putting him down, this party professed to be in the English interest, and acted in concert with Edward's officers. Most of the places of strength throughout the kingdom were also in the hands of the English. In these circumstances the course which Bruce appears to have laid down for himself was to avoid a general action, and in the meantime to overrun those parts of the country that refused to submit to his authority, and seize every opportunity of reducing the castles.

The severe bodily exertion and fatigue, and the still more trying accumulation of mental distresses to which he had been subjected since the commencement of his great enterprise, had been too much even for his heroic heart and iron frame, and had reduced Bruce by the spring of 1308 to a state of debility from which it had begun to be feared that he would not recover. On the 22nd of May the royal force was encountered near Inverury, in Aberdeenshire, by a numerous force under the command of Mowbray, an Englishman, and John Comyn, the Earl of Buchan. Bruce, it is affirmed, was not able to rise without assistance from his couch, but he nevertheless desired to be set on horseback. In this state he led his men to the charge and gained the victory; the enemy being pursued with great slaughter for many miles.

Soon after this the people of Aberdeen rose and stormed the castle there, put the English garrison to the

sword, and razed the fortress to the ground. An English force immediately marched against the town, but the citizens finished their exploit by likewise encountering and defeating this new enemy. The capture of the castle of Aberdeen was speedily followed by that of the castle of Forfar.

There were two districts of the kingdom where the opposition to Bruce was especially strong—that of Galloway, the turbulent inhabitants of which had never yet been thoroughly reconciled to the dominion of the Scottish kings, and were besides attached by a sort of national connexion to the Baliol family through their ancient lords; and the country of Lorn in Argyleshire, the chief of which, Allaster (or Alexander) Mac Dougal (often called Allaster of Argyle), had married an aunt of Comyn, whom Bruce had slain. In the course of this summer both these districts were overrun, and for the present reduced to subjection.

Meanwhile the measures of the English government were characterised by all the evidences of distracted councils, and of the decay of the national spirit under the inefficient rule of the new king. Almost every quarter of the year saw the substitution of a new guardian or chief governor for Scotland. The country generally was under subjection to Bruce; and whenever he encountered any military force, whether composed of Scots or of English, he was sure to put them to flight. At last, in the spring of 1309, a truce was arranged by the mediation of the king of France. Hostilities, however, were not long suspended. In the end of the year, by a second intervention of the French king, the negotiations were renewed, and another truce was concluded in the year 1310. But this also was soon broken by one party or by both. Edward II. at last prepared to proceed to Scotland, and take the field in person. He entered Scotland about the end of September, but, after leading his army about from place to place over the border counties for some weeks without achieving anything, he returned to Berwick, and remained inactive for nearly nine months. Edward returned to England in the end of

July, 1311; and, as soon as he was gone, Bruce made an irruption into Durham, and suffered his soldiers to wreak their vengeance on that unfortunate district by a week of unrestrained plunder and merciless devastation. Bringing them back loaded with spoil, he next led them to attack the castle of Perth. After a siege of six weeks, it was taken by an assault during the night, gallantly led by the king himself. Edward now attempted to negotiate another truce, and even solicited the intervention of the pope. But, instead of listening to these overtures, Bruce again invaded England, burned the towns of Hexham and Corbridge, and part of the city of Durham, afterwards penetrated to Chester, and, although he was repulsed in an assault upon Carlisle, only consented to return across the border upon the four northern counties purchasing a truce from him by a payment of two thousand pounds each. Not long after he succeeded in making himself master of the castle of Dumfries, and of those of Butel and Dalswinton in Galloway,—the former a seat of the Baliols, the latter of the Comyns. On the 7th of March, 1313, the important castle of Roxburgh was suddenly taken by assault. On the 14th of the same month that of Edinburgh, which had for some time been blockaded by Bruce's nephew Randolph, now created earl of Moray, was taken in a similar manner by a party of thirty men, whom Randolph headed, and who made their way at midnight up the precipitous rock, on which the castle stands, by a secret path, along which they were guided by a man who had resided in the fortress in his youth, and had been wont to descend by that intricate and perilous access to visit a girl with whom he was in love. It appears to have been likewise about this time, although the event is placed earlier in the common accounts, that the castle of Linlithgow was surprised by a stratagem, which might almost be supposed to have been suggested by the classic tale of the Trojan horse, but of which the contrivance as well as the conduct is attributed to a poor countryman named William Binnock or Binny. This same year Cumberland was again ravaged by Bruce, who then crossing

over to Man, effected the complete reduction of the island.

While the king was absent on this expedition, Edward Bruce had made himself master of the castles of Dundee and Rutherglen, and he had been for some weeks engaged in besieging that of Stirling, now almost the only considerable place of strength which the English held in Scotland. After a gallant defence the governor, Philip de Mowbray, offered to surrender if not relieved by the Feast of St. John the Baptist (the 24th of June), in the following year; and this proposal Edward Bruce, without consulting his brother, accepted. Bruce expressed the highest displeasure when the treaty was made known to him; but he resolved, nevertheless, to abide by it. Every effort was now made on both sides in preparation for a crisis which it was felt would be decisive. King Edward, besides ordering a fleet to be fitted out to act in concert with the land forces, summoned all the military power of England to meet him at Berwick on the 11th of June, and also called to his aid both his English subjects in Ireland and many of the native Irish chiefs. That day, accordingly, saw assembled at the place of rendezvous perhaps the most magnificent army that our warlike land had ever yet sent forth; its numbers are asserted by the best authorities to have exceeded a hundred thousand men, including a body of forty thousand cavalry, of whom three thousand were clad in complete armour, both man and horse. At the head of this mighty array Edward took his course into Scotland, advancing by the east coast to Edinburgh, from which, turning his face westward, he proceeded along the right bank of the Forth towards Stirling. Bruce, meanwhile, had collected his forces in the forest called the Torwood, midway between that place and Falkirk; they amounted to scarce forty thousand fighting men, nearly all of whom were on foot. When the English approached, the king of Scots drew up his little army immediately to the south of Stirling, in a field then known by the name of the New Park, which, partly broken with wood, was in some parts encom-

passed by a marsh, and had running along one side of it the rivulet of Bannockburn, between woody banks of considerable depth and steepness. He arranged his men in four divisions, three of which formed a front line facing the south-east, from which direction the enemy was approaching, so that the right wing rested on the brook of Bannock, and the left extended towards the town of Stirling. It was a position chosen with consummate skill; for while obstacles, partly natural, partly artificial, secured either flank from being turned, the space in front was at the same time so narrow and impeded as to be calculated in a great measure to deprive a very numerous hostile force of the advantage of its numerical superiority. On his most assailable quarter, his left wing, or the north-eastern extremity of this line of battle, Bruce had caused a great many pits to be dug, about three feet in depth, and then to be covered over with brushwood and sod, so as not to be easily perceptible. Of the three divisions thus drawn up, Bruce gave the command of that forming the right wing to his brother Edward; of that forming the left to Randolph, earl of Moray; of the centre to Sir James Douglas and Walter the Steward; the fourth division, composed of the men of Argyle, the islanders, and his own vassals of Carrick, formed a reserve, which was stationed in the rear, and of which he himself took charge.

On Sunday, the 23rd of June, intelligence was received that the English were at hand. Barbour has painted the day as one bright with sunshine, which falling upon the burnished armour of King Edward's troops, made the land seem all in a glow, while banners right fairly floating, and pennons waving in the wind, added to the splendour of the scene. When he came within sight of the Scots, and perceived how they were planted, Edward, detaching eight hundred horse, sent them forward under the command of Sir Robert Clifford, to endeavour to gain the castle by making a circuit on the other side of some rising grounds to the north-east of Bruce's left wing. Thus sheltered from observation, they had already passed the Scottish line, when Bruce

himself was the first to perceive them. "Randolph!" he cried, riding up to his nephew, "a rose has fallen from your chaplet,—you have suffered the enemy to pass!" It was still possible to intercept Clifford and his horse. Randolph instantly set out to throw himself, at every hazard, between them and the castle: to prevent this the English wheeled round and charged him; but he had drawn up his men in a circle, with their backs to each other, and their long spears protruded all round, and they not only stood the onset firmly, but repelled it with the slaughter of many of their assailants. Still they contended against fearful odds; and, seeing the jeopardy of his friend, Douglas requested to be allowed to go and succour him. "You shall not move from your ground," replied Bruce; "let Randolph extricate himself as he best may." But at length Douglas could no longer restrain himself: and so, extorting from the king a reluctant consent, he hastened forward. But, as he drew near, he perceived that the English were giving way: "Halt!" he cried to his followers; "let us not diminish the glory of these brave men!" and he did not go up to his friend till the latter had, alone and unaided, compelled the English captain to retire in confusion. Meanwhile, before this affair had yet been decided, a brilliant achievement of Bruce himself, performed in full view of both armies, had raised the hopes of his countrymen. He was riding in front of his troops on a little palfrey, but with his battle-axe in his hand and a crown of gold over his steel helmet, when an English knight, Henry de Bohun, or Boone, mounted on a heavy war-horse, and armed at all points, galloped forward to attack him. Instead of retiring from the unequal encounter, Bruce returned to meet his assailant, and, dexterously parrying his spear, in the next instant, with one blow of his battle-axe, laid him dead at his feet.

Although the two armies were so near, the English did not venture upon the attack that night. But next morning, soon after break of day, their van, led by the Earls of Gloucester and Hereford, advanced at full gallop

upon the right wing of the Scots, while the main body of the army followed in a long close column under the conduct of Edward himself. The shock did not break the Scottish line; and successive repetitions of the charge were more disastrous to the assailants than to the firm phalanx against which their squadrons were broken at every collision. From the advantages of their position, also, the other divisions of the Scots were soon enabled to take part in the contest. Randolph pushed forward with his men—Douglas and the Steward also came up; and thus the battle became general along the whole length of the Scottish front line. Of the English army, on the other hand, the greater part appears never to have been engaged. A strong body of archers, however, did great execution, till Bruce directed Sir Robert Keith, the marshal, at the head of a small detachment of horse, to make a circuit and come upon them in flank. The bowmen, who had no weapons by which they could maintain a fight at close quarters, gave way before this sudden assault, and spread confusion in all directions. Bruce now advanced with his reserve, and all the four divisions of the Scots pressed upon the confused multitude of the English. The latter, however, still stood their ground; and the fortune of the day yet hung in a doubtful balance, when suddenly, on a hill behind the Scottish battle, appeared what seemed to be a new army. It was merely the crowd of sutlers and unarmed attendants on the camp; but it is probable that their sudden apparition was not made without the design of producing some such effect as it did, since they are said to have advanced with banners waving and all the show of military array. The sight spread instant alarm among the English: at the same moment Bruce, raising his war-cry, pressed with new fury upon their failing ranks: his onset, vigorously supported by the other divisions of the Scottish army, was scarcely resisted by the unwieldy and now completely panic-struck mass against which it was directed: horse and foot alike gave way, and fled in the wildest disorder. Many, trying to escape across the river, were drowned; many more fell under the battle-

axes of their pursuers. Among the slain were twenty-seven of the rank of barons and bannerets, including the king's nephew, the Earl of Gloucester, and others of the chief nobility of England. Of knights there fell two hundred, of esquires seven hundred, and of persons of inferior rank, according to some accounts, not fewer than thirty thousand. The slaughter in the fight and the pursuit together was undoubtedly very great. A vast amount of booty and many prisoners also fell into the hands of the victors. Edward himself with difficulty escaped, having been hotly pursued as far as Dunbar, a place sixty miles from the field of battle. But twenty-two barons and bannerets and sixty knights were taken; and, according to one English historian, the chariots, waggons, and other carriages, loaded with baggage and military stores, that were obtained by the Scots would, if drawn up in a line, have extended for many leagues. On their side the loss of life, which was the only loss, was comparatively inconsiderable, and included only one or two names of any note.

This great victory, in effect, liberated Scotland. The castle of Stirling immediately surrendered according to agreement. Bothwell Castle, in which the Earl of Hereford had shut himself up, capitulated soon after to Edward Bruce, when the earl was exchanged for the wife, sister, and daughter of the King of Scots, who had been detained in England for the last seven years, and also for the Bishop of Glasgow and the Earl of Mar. Edward Bruce and Douglas, then entering England, ravaged Northumberland, exacted tribute from Durham, and, after penetrating as far as Appleby, returned home laden with plunder.

Meanwhile, however, a still bolder enterprise had been entered upon by the ardent and ambitious brother of the Scottish king. On the 25th of May, 1315, Edward Bruce landed at Carrickfergus with no less a design than that of winning himself a crown by the conquest of Ireland. The force which he brought with him consisted of only six thousand men; but he was joined, on landing, by a number of the native chiefs of

Ulster, with whom he had had a previous understanding. The invaders and their allies immediately began to ravage the possessions of the English settlers; and no attempt to oppose them seems to have been made for nearly two months. At length Richard de Burgh, earl of Ulster, assisted by some of the Connaught chiefs, marched against them. The Scots at first retreated, but suddenly halting near Coyners, (on the 10th of September,) they turned round upon their pursuers and put them completely to the rout. Soon after this, a reinforcement of five hundred men arrived from Scotland; and the invaders now proceeded to penetrate into the heart of the country. They advanced through Meath into Kildare, and there (on the 26th of January, 1316), encountering the English army commanded by Edmund Butler, the Justiciary of Ireland, gained another brilliant victory. A severe famine, however, now compelled them to return to the North. On their way they were met at Kenlis, in Meath, by Roger Lord Mortimer, who thought to cut off their retreat; but this numerous force also was defeated and dispersed, and Mortimer himself, with a few attendants, was glad to take refuge in Dublin. The Scottish prince now assumed the government of Ulster. On the 2nd of May, 1316, at Carrickfergus, he was solemnly crowned King of Ireland; and from this time he actually reigned in full and undisputed sovereignty over the greater portion of the northern province. By this time the King of Scots himself had come over to take part in the war: the force which he brought with him is said to have raised the entire numbers of the Scottish army to twenty thousand men. Thus strengthened the invaders again set out for the South. They failed, however, in their attempt to reduce Dublin. It is probable that the want of provisions compelled them to remove. As they had already, however, wasted the country behind them, they proceeded in their course southwards, till at length, plundering and destroying as they proceeded, they had penetrated as far as the town of Limerick. The difficulties of their position were now serious: they were a handful of foreigners, with many

miles of a hostile country between them and the nearest spot on which they could take up a secure station; famine was staring them in the face; indeed they were reduced to feed upon their horses, and want and disease were already beginning to thin their ranks. Notwithstanding, however, that an English army of thirty thousand men was assembled at Kilkenny to oppose their passage, they contrived to extricate themselves from all these perils and embarrassments, and, by the beginning of May, 1317, the two brothers had made their way back to Ulster, after having thus overrun the country from nearly one extremity to the other.

The English, however, had taken advantage of the absence of the King of Scots from his own dominions to make several attempts to renew the war there. In the South, the Earl of Arundel, a Gascon knight, named Edmond de Cailand, who was governor of Berwick, and Sir Ralph Neville, were successively defeated by Sir James Douglas. Soon after, a force, which had made a descent at Inverkeithing, on the coast of Fife, was driven back by the gallantry of Sinclair, bishop of Dunkeld. The pope now interfered, and attempted to compel a truce between the two countries; but as he evaded giving Bruce the title of king, the latter would enter into no negotiation. On the 28th of March, 1318, the important town of Berwick fell into the hands of the Scots. The castle also soon after surrendered to Bruce, who followed up these successes by two invasions of England.

In the latter part of this year, however, the career of Edward Bruce in Ireland was suddenly brought to a close. Scarcely anything is known of the course of events for a period of about a year and a half; but on the 5th of October, 1318, the Scottish prince engaged the English at Fagher, near Dundalk, and sustained a complete defeat. He himself was one of two thousand Scots that were left dead upon the field. Only a small remnant, consisting principally of the men of Carrick, made good their escape to Scotland.

In the summer of 1319 Edward determined to make another effort for the reduction of Scotland. Having

assembled a numerous army at Newcastle, he marched thence upon Berwick, and, after much preparation, made his first attack upon that town at once by land and sea on the 7th of September. He was, however, gallantly withstood by the garrison and the inhabitants, under the command of the Steward of Scotland, and, after a long and fierce contest, repulsed at all points. The attempt was afterwards repeatedly renewed, and always with the same result. Meanwhile, Randolph and Douglas, passing into England, made a dash at the town of York, with the hope of carrying off Edward's queen; but a prisoner, whom the English took, betrayed their scheme just in time to prevent its success. The Scots then ravaged Yorkshire with a fury as unresisted as it was unsparing, till, on the 28th of September, they were encountered by a very numerous, but in all other respects very inefficient, force, mostly composed of peasantry and ecclesiastics, under the command of the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Ely, at Mitton on the Swale. This rabble was routed at once, about four thousand of them being slain, including three hundred churchmen. In allusion to the presence of so many shaved crowns, this battle used to be termed the Chapter of Mitton. The Scots then continued their devastation of the country unopposed. At length Edward, raising the siege of Berwick, marched to intercept them; but they succeeded in eluding him, and got back to Scotland in safety. On the 21st of December, a truce for two years was concluded between the two nations.

We now return to the course of domestic affairs. Edward could not live without a favourite. Soon after the death of Gaveston, he conceived the same unbounded affection for Hugh Despenser, a young man who was first placed about the court by the Earl of Lancaster. Hugh was an Englishman born, and the son of an Englishman of ancient descent: he was accomplished, brave, and amiable; but all these circumstances, which, except that of his birth, Gaveston had held in common with him, did not rescue him from the deadly hatred of the barons when they saw him suddenly raised above them all. Edward

married him to the daughter of the late Earl of Gloucester, and put him in possession of immense estates. Through the favour of the son, the elder Despenser obtained as much or more, and all the avenues to favour and promotion were stopped by this one family. In 1321, an imprudent exercise or abuse of authority, armed all the lords of the marches against the two Despensers, whose castles were taken and burnt, and their movable property carried off. Soon after this outbreak, the Earl of Lancaster, who, as a prince of the blood, had considered himself dishonoured by the promotion of Hugh, his poor dependant, marched from the north, and joined the Welsh insurgents with thirty-four barons and knights, and a host of retainers. Having bound them by an oath not to lay down their arms till they had driven the two Despensers beyond sea, the great earl led them to St. Alban's, whence he dispatched a peremptory message to his cousin, the king. Edward again made a show of resistance. Lancaster marched upon London, and occupied the suburbs of Holborn and Clerkenwell. A few days after, a parliament having assembled at Westminster, the barons, with arms in their hands, accused the Despensers of usurping the royal power, of estranging the king from his nobles, of appointing ignorant judges, of exacting fines; and they pronounced a sentence of perpetual banishment against both father and son. The bishops protested against the irregularity of this sentence, but the timid king confirmed it.

Suddenly, however, the position of the two contending parties was reversed. The Despensers had been banished in the month of August. In October they returned to England, encouraged by a bold move of the king, who took and hanged twelve knights of the opposite party. The Earl of Lancaster retired to the north, and opened a correspondence with the Scots, who promised to send an army across the borders to his assistance. This force, however, did not appear in time; but meanwhile the secret of the application for it transpired, and inflamed the hearts of the English against the earl.

In 1322, Lancaster and his confederates were suddenly

met at Boroughbridge, by Sir Simon Ward and Sir Andrew Harclay, who defended the bridge, and occupied the opposite bank of the river with a superior force. The Earl of Hereford charged on foot to clear the passage; but a Welshman, who was concealed under the bridge, put his lance through a hole in the flooring, and thrust it into the bowels of the earl, who fell dead. Lancaster then attempted a ford, but his men were driven back by the enemy's archers. Night interrupted the unequal combat, but in the morning the Earl of Lancaster was compelled to surrender. Many knights were taken with him; and besides the Earl of Hereford, five knights and three esquires were killed. Edward's opportunity for revenge had arrived, and he determined that many others, besides his cousin Lancaster, should perish by the hands of the executioner. A court was convoked at Pontefract, in the earl's own castle. It consisted of six earls and a number of barons of the royal party: the king presided. Lancaster was accused of many treasonable practices, and especially of calling in the Scots. He was told that his guilt was so well proved to all men that he must not speak in his defence, and the court condemned him, as a felon traitor, to be drawn, hanged, and quartered. Out of respect to his royal blood, Edward remitted the ignominious parts of the sentence; but his ministers heaped every possible insult on the earl, and the mob were allowed to pelt him with mud as he was led to execution, mounted on a wretched pony. Fourteen bannerets and fourteen knights-bachelors were drawn, hanged, and quartered; one knight was beheaded. In a parliament held at York, the attainders of the Despenser family were reversed: the father was created Earl of Winchester, and the estates of the attainted nobles were lavished on him and on his son.

Many of the partisans of Lancaster were thrown into prison; others escaped to France, where they laid the groundwork of a plan which soon involved the king, his favourite, and adherents in one common ruin.*

* Rymer.—Knyghton.—Walsing.—Froissart.—Speed.—Palgrave, Chron. Abstract.

The arrogance of the younger Despenser, upon whom the lesson of Gaveston was thrown away, the ill success of an expedition into Scotland, and then the inroads of the Scots, who nearly took the king prisoner, and who swept the whole country as far as the walls of York, kept up a continual irritation, and prepared men's minds for the worst. On the 30th of May, 1323, Edward wisely put an end to a ruinous war which had lasted for twenty-three years. He agreed with Bruce for a suspension of arms, which was to last thirteen years, and which was not to be interrupted by the death of either or of both of the contracting parties. Soon after the conclusion of this treaty, the king was alarmed by a conspiracy to cut off the elder Despenser, and then by a bold attempt to liberate some of the captives made at Boroughbridge from their dungeons. This attempt failed; but the most important of those prisoners effected his escape by other means. This was Roger Mortimer, who had twice been condemned for treason, and who was then lying under sentence of death in the Tower of London. His adventure resembled that of Ralf Flambard, in the time of Henry I. He rode with all speed to the coast of Hampshire, and there he embarked for France.

Charles le Bel, a brother to Isabella, queen of England, was now seated on the French throne.* Differences had existed for some time between him and his brother-in-law Edward; and the intrigues of the suffering Lancaster party contributed to drive matters to extremities. The manifestos of Charles scarcely merit attention—as far as the two kings were concerned, it was the quarrel of the wolf and the lamb; and after Edward had made apologies, and offered to refer matters to the arbitration of the pope, Charles overran a good part of the territories on the Continent that still belonged to the English, and took many of Edward's castles and towns.

* In thirteen years, three brothers of Isabella occupied, in succession, the French throne—Louis X., Philip V., and Charles IV., or Le Bel, who succeeded in 1322.

Isabella persuaded her husband that she was the proper person to be deputed to France, as her brother would yield to fraternal affection what ambassadors and statesmen could not procure from him. The simple king fell into the snare; and in the month of March, 1325, Isabella, accompanied by a splendid retinue, landed at Boulogne, whence she repaired to Paris.* The treaty she concluded was most dishonourable to her husband; but the weak Edward found himself obliged to ratify it, and to promise an immediate attendance in France, to do homage for the dominions he was allowed to retain on the Continent. A sickness, real or feigned, stopped him at Dover. At the suggestion of Isabella, the French court intimated that if he would cede Guienne and Ponthieu to his son, then that boy might do homage instead of his father, and everything would be arranged in the most peaceful and liberal manner. Edward again fell into the snare, or what is more probable, was driven into it with his eyes open by the Despensers, who dreaded the being separated from the king, and who durst not venture with him into France, where their enemies were now so numerous and powerful. Edward, therefore, resigned Guienne and Ponthieu, and the Prince of Wales went and joined his mother. The game on that side was now made up. When Edward pressed for the return of his wife and son, he received evasive answers, and these were soon followed by horrible accusations and an open defiance of him and his authority. Isabella reported that "Messire Hugh" had sown such discord between her and her husband, that the king "would no longer see her, nor come to the place where she was."† The modern historian can scarcely hint at certain parts of Isabella's complaints; but, to finish the climax, she accused the odious favourite of a plot against her life and the life of her son Edward. The king's reply was mild and circumstantial; but it did not suit the views of a vindictive party to admit of any part of his exculpation; and, making every

* Froissart. † Id.

rational abatement, we believe that it must remain undisputed, that the king had most justly earned the contempt and hatred of his wife; nor will the derelictions of Isabella at all plead in his excuse. During the lifetime of the Earl of Lancaster, the queen seems to have leant on that prince for protection: the Lord Mortimer was now the head of the Lancastrian party; and when he repaired to Paris, the circumstances and necessities of her position threw Isabella continually in his society. Mortimer was gallant, handsome, intriguing, and not more moral than the generality of knights. Isabella was still beautiful and young—she was not yet twenty-eight years of age—and it was soon whispered that the intimacy of these parties went far beyond the limits of a political friendship. When Isabella first arrived in France, her brother promised that he would redress her wrongs; and he continued to protect his sister even after her connexion with Mortimer was notorious. Hugh Despenser, however, sent over rich presents to the ministers of the French king, and even to the king himself, and thus prevented the assembling of an army on the French coast. He made his master, Edward, write to the pope, imploring the holy father to interfere, and induce Charles le Bel to restore to him his wife and son; and he sent, by "subtle ways," much gold and silver to several cardinals and prelates who were "nearest to the pope;" and so, by gifts and false representations, the pontiff was led to write to the King of France, that unless he sent his sister, the Queen Isabella, back to England and to her husband, he would excommunicate him.* These letters were presented to the King of France by the Bishop of Saintes. When the king had seen them, he caused it to be intimated to his sister that she must hastily depart his kingdom, or he would drive her out with shame.† This anger of Charles le Bel was

* Froissart.

† Froissart. Charles le Bel was awkwardly situated. He and his two brothers, Louis and Philip, had, a few years before,

only feigned—it appears to have been a mere sacrifice for the sake of appearances; and when his vassal, the Count of Hainault, gave shelter to Isabella and the Lancastrian party, the count probably knew very well that he was doing what was perfectly agreeable to his liege lord. The more to bind this powerful vassal to her interests, the queen affianced the young Prince of Wales to Philippa, the second daughter of the count. But no one embraced Isabella's cause with such enthusiasm as John of Hainault, a young brother of the count, who would not listen to those who warned him of the dangers of the enterprise, and told *him* how jealous the English were of all kinds of foreigners. In a short time, a little army of 2000 men gathered round the banner of Messire John. The English exiles were both numerous and of high rank, scarcely one of them being less than a knight. The active and enterprising Roger Mortimer took the lead; but the Earl of Kent, King Edward's own brother, the Earl of Richmond, his cousin, the Lord Beaumont, and the Bishop of Norwich, all joined the queen in the Low Countries, though they had been sent by Edward as his trusty ambassadors into France. Nor had Isabella any want of partisans in England to make her way easy and straight. The leader of these was another bishop—Adam Orleton. After a stormy passage, Isabella, with her little army and her son Prince Edward, landed on the 24th of September at Orwell, in Suffolk, and was received as the deliverer of the kingdom. The fleet had purposely kept out of her way; and a land force detached to oppose her landing joined her banner, and hailed the young prince with rapturous joy. The queen and the prince stayed three days at St. Edmund's Bury,

shut their wives up in dungeons on suspicion of irregularity of conduct. Louis, on ascending the throne, caused his wife to be strangled privately in Château-Gaillard; Philip was reconciled to his; but the wife of Charles was still pining in prison. It was held monstrous that so rigid a moralist with respect to his wife should be so tolerant with regard to his sister.

where they were joined by many barons and knights. The Archbishop of Canterbury sent her money, and three bishops offered their services in person, being accompanied by the Earl of Norfolk, the other brother of the king.* Thus wife, son, brothers, cousin, were all in hostile array against Edward. Never was king so thoroughly abandoned and despised. When he appealed to the loyalty of the citizens of London, they told him that their privileges would not permit them to follow him into the field; and they added, that they would honour with all duty the king, the *queen*, and *prince*, and shut their gates against the foreigners. Upon this, Edward fled, and there were none to accompany him save the two Despensers, the Chancellor Baldock, and a few of their retainers. He had scarcely ridden out of London, when the populace rose and tore to pieces in the street the Bishop of Exeter, whom he had appointed governor. They afterwards murdered a wealthy citizen, one John le Marshal, because he had been a friend of the king's favourite; and, falling upon the Tower, they got possession of it, and liberated all the state prisoners. Edward was soon reduced to such straits, that he knew not where to put his own head for safety. Even the Welsh, among whom he was born, rejected the hapless fugitive, who was at last compelled to take shipping with his favourite.† For a time, the views expressed among the nobles and prelates, who had all, with very few exceptions, joined the queen, were, that the wife ought to be reconciled to the husband,—that the king should be compelled to govern according to the will of his parliament, — and that measures of extreme rigour should be adopted only against the Despensers; but Adam Orleton, the Bishop of Hereford, had no difficulty in convincing them that the king was not en-

* Knyghton.—Walsing.—Heming.—De la More.—Rymer.—Froissart.

† According to some accounts, he meant to escape to Ireland; according to others, merely to the Isle of Lundy, in the Bristol Channel.

titled to the society of his wife or to the confidence of his subjects, and Edward was never again seriously spoken of as king.

The elder Despenser had thrown himself into Bristol; but the citizens rose against him as soon as the queen approached their walls; and in three days he was obliged to surrender. The earl was brought to a trial before Sir Willam Trussel, one of the Lancastrian exiles; and, as had been the course taken with the Earl of Lancaster, he was condemned to die the death of a traitor, without being heard in his defence. Old age had not moderated his eager grasping after the honours and estates of others; and his venerable grey hairs inspired neither pity nor respect. They dragged him to the place of execution a little beyond the walls of Bristol: they tore out his bowels, then hanged him on a gibbet for four days, and then cut his body to pieces and threw it to the dogs. As he had been created Earl of Winchester, they sent his head to that city, where it was set on a pole. From Bristol the barons issued a proclamation summoning Edward to return to his proper post.

On the 26th day of September the prelates and barons, assuming to themselves the full power of a parliament, declared that the king, by his flight, had left the realm without a ruler, and that they therefore appointed the Prince of Wales Guardian of the kingdom in the name and by the hereditary right of his father. In the mean time the unhappy fugitive found the winds and waves as adverse as his family and his subjects. After tossing about for many days, he was driven on the coast of South Wales. He concealed himself for some weeks in the mountains, near Neath Abbey in Glamorganshire; but an active and a deadly enemy was in pursuit of him; and the country people, if they did not betray *him*, betrayed his favourite and his chancellor, for gold. Despenser and Baldock were seized in the woods of Lantressan, and immediately after their arrest Edward came forth and surrendered to his pursuer, who was his own cousin, but also brother to the late Earl of Lancaster. The wretched king, for whom not a banner was raised, not a sword drawn, not a

bow bent in any part of his kingdom, was sent by way of Ledbury to Kenilworth, where he was put in sure keeping in the castle. Despenser found his doom at Hereford, where the queen was keeping the festival of All Saints. He had the same judge as his father, and his trial was scarcely more rational or legal. William Trussel pronounced his sentence in a rage, ordering that, as a robber, traitor, and outlaw, he should be drawn, hanged, embowelled, beheaded, and quartered. The sentence was executed with a minute observance of its revolting details; and the gallows upon which the favourite was hung was made fifty feet high. His confidential servant was hanged some yards below his master. The Earl of Arundel, who was closely connected with the Despensers by marriage, was beheaded: two other noblemen shared the same fate; but here the task of the executioners ceased. Baldock, the chancellor, was a priest, and as such secured from the scaffold and the gallows; but he died not long after, a prisoner in Newgate.*

On the 7th day of January, 1327, a parliament, summoned in the king's name, met at Westminster. Adam Orleton, the Bishop of Hereford, after an able speech, proposed this question,—whether, under circumstances, the father should be restored to the throne, or the son at once occupy that throne? The critical answer was deferred till the morrow, but no one could doubt what that answer would be. The citizens of London crowded to hear it, and they hailed the decision with shouts of joy. The king had now been a prisoner for nearly two months, but not the slightest reaction had taken place in his favour; and when parliament declared that he had ceased to reign, not a single voice spoke in his behalf. His son was proclaimed king by universal acclamation, and presented to the rejoicing people. The earls and barons, with most of the prelates, took the oath of fealty; but the Archbishop of York and three bishops refused. The

* Knyght.—More.—Walsing.—Leland, Collect.—Rymer. Tyrrell, Hist.

proceedings were followed by an act of accusation, which surely ought to have preceded them. Five days after declaring the accession of the young king, Stratford, the Bishop of Winchester, produced a bill, charging the elder Edward with shameful indolence, incapacity, cowardice, cruelty, and oppression. The young Edward was present in parliament, and seated on the throne, when the articles were read and admitted as sufficient grounds for a sentence of deposition. Again not a voice was raised for Edward of Caernarvon. The queen alone thought fit to feign some sorrow at this sentence of the nation. On the 20th of January a deputation, consisting of bishops, earls, and barons, with two knights from each county, and two representatives from every borough in the kingdom, waited upon the royal prisoner at Kenilworth, to state to him that the people of England were no longer bound by their oath of allegiance to him, and to receive his resignation of the crown. The king appeared in the great hall of the castle, wrapped in a common black gown. At the sight of Bishop Orleton he fell to the ground. There are two accounts of a part of this remarkable interview, but that which seems most consistent with the weak character of the king is, that he, without opposition or protest, formally renounced the royal dignity, and thanked the parliament for not having overlooked the rights of his son. Then Sir William Trussel, as Speaker of the whole parliament, addressed him in the name of the parliament, and on behalf of the whole people of England, and told him that he was no longer a king; that all fealty and allegiance were withdrawn from him, and that he must henceforth be considered as a private man. As Trussel ceased speaking, Sir Thomas Blount, the steward of the household, stepped forward and broke his white wand or staff of office, and declared that all persons engaged in Edward's service were discharged and freed by that act. This ceremony, which was one usually performed at a king's death, was held as an entire completion of the process of dethronement. The deputation returned to London, leaving the captive king in Kenilworth Castle; and three or four days after, being Saturday, the 24th of

January, Edward III.'s peace was proclaimed, the proclamation bearing, that Edward II. was, by the common assent of the peers and commons, "ousted" from the throne; that he had agreed that his eldest son and heir should be crowned king, &c. The young Edward, who was only in his fourteenth year, was crowned on the 29th of January at Westminster.*

As the new king was too young to take the government upon himself, nearly the entire authority of the crown was vested in the queen-mother, who herself was wholly ruled by the Lord Mortimer, a man whose questionable position made him unpopular from the first, and whose power and ambition could not fail of exciting jealousy and rendering him odious to many. The indiscreet zeal of some preachers, and some plots which were at last formed, not so much in favour of Edward as against Mortimer, seem to have hurried on a fearful tragedy. The Earl of Lancaster, though he had the death of a brother to avenge, was less cruel than his colleagues; the spectacle of his cousin's miseries touched his heart, and he treated the king with mildness and generosity. The deposed king was therefore taken out of Lancaster's hands and given to the keeping of Sir John Maltravers, a man of a fiercer disposition, who had suffered cruel wrongs from Edward and his favourites. Maltravers removed the captive from Kenilworth Castle, and his object seems to have been to conceal the place of his residence, for he made him travel by night, and carried him to three or four different castles in the space of a few months. At last he was lodged in Berkeley Castle, near the river Severn; and the Lord Berkeley, the owner of the castle, was joined with Maltravers in the commission of guarding him. The Lord Berkeley also treated the captive more courteously than was desired; but, falling sick, he was detained away from the castle at his manor of Bradley, and during his absence the care of Edward was intrusted, by command of Mortimer, to Thomas Gourney and William Ogle. One dark night, towards the end of September,

* More.—Walsing.—Knyght.—Rymer.—Sir H. Nicholas, Chron. of Hist.

horrible screams and shrieks of anguish rang and echoed through the walls of Berkeley Castle, and were heard even in the town.* On the following morning the gates of the castle were thrown open, and people were freely admitted to behold the body of Edward of Caernarvon, who was said to have expired during the night of a sudden disorder. Most of the knights living in the neighbourhood, and many of the citizens of Bristol and Gloucester, went to see the body, which bore no outward marks of violence, though the countenance was distorted and horrible to look upon. The corpse was then carried to Gloucester, and privately buried in the Abbey church.

It was soon rumoured that he had been most cruelly murdered by Gourney and Ogle, who had thrust a red-hot iron into his bowels through a tin pipe; and there were many who had heard with their own ears his "wailful noise" at the dead of night; but still the nation continued in its unrelenting indifference to all that concerned this most wretched king.† Edward was forty-three years old: counting from the date of his recognition to that of his deposition, he had reigned nineteen years and six months, wanting some days.

It was during this unhappy reign that the great Order of the Knights Templars was abolished. These knights, from a very humble beginning in 1118, when nine poor crusaders took upon themselves the obligation of protecting the faithful at Jerusalem, had attained immense wealth and power. Their association included men of the noblest birth, natives of every Christian country. Their valour in battle,—their wisdom in council,—had long been the admiration of the world; but, after the loss of the Holy Land, they forfeited much of this consideration, for they did not, like the Hospitallers or Knights of St. John, secure an establishment in the East‡—a re

* Holinsh. † More.—Knyght.—Rymer.—Holinsh.

‡ The Knights of St. John, it will be remembered, g possession of the island of Rhodes, and when they lost Rhod in the fifteenth century, of Malta and Gozo.

or fanciful bulwark to Christendom against the Mohammedans. It was in France that the first blow was struck at their existence; Philip le Bel was involved in great pecuniary difficulties by his wars with the English and his other neighbours; and when he and Enguerrand de Marigni, a minister as unscrupulous as himself, had exhausted all other sources of revenue, they cast their eyes on the houses and lands and tempting wealth of the Red-cross Knights. Forthwith they proceeded to form a conspiracy,—for such it really was,—and in a short time the knights were accused of monstrous and contradictory crimes by a host of witnesses, whose depositions were either bought or forced from them by threats or imprisonment or the actual application of the rack. On the 13th of October, 1307, Philip took possession of the Palace of the Temple in his capital, and threw the grand master and all the knights that were with him into prison. At the same time—at the very same hour—so nicely was the plot regulated, the Templars were seized in all parts of France. An atrocious inquisition forged letters of the grand master to criminate the order, and applied the most horrible tortures to the knights: in Paris alone thirty-six knights died on the rack, maintaining their innocence to the last. Two years of a dreadful captivity, with infernal interludes of torture, and the conviction forced on their minds that Philip le Bel was resolved to annihilate their order and seize their property, and that there was no hope of succour from the pope or from any other power upon earth, broke the brave spirit of the Red-cross Knights. Even Jacques de Molai, the grand master, an heroic old man, was made to confess to crimes of which he never could have been guilty. He afterwards, however, retracted his confession, and, in the end, perished heroically at the stake. The grand execution took place on the 12th of May, 1310—when fifty-four of the knights, who had confessed on the rack, and then retracted all they had said in their dungeons, were burnt alive as "relapsed heretics" in a field behind the abbey of St. Antoine at Paris. Penal fires were lit in other

parts of France, and all the surviving knights who did not retract their plea of not guilty were condemned to perpetual imprisonment.

After a show of dissatisfaction at Philip le Bel's precipitancy, the pope had joined in the death-cry; and in the course of the years 1308 and 1309, he addressed bulls to all the sovereigns of Christendom, commanding them to inquire into the conduct of the knights. He afterwards threatened to excommunicate every person that should harbour or give counsel and show favour to any Templar. Without waiting for these papal bulls, Philip, as soon as he had matured his plans, had endeavoured to stimulate his son-in-law, Edward of England, to similar measures; but the English court and council, while they engaged to investigate the charges, expressed the greatest astonishment at them; and two months later Edward wrote to the kings of Portugal, Castile, and Arragon, imploring them not to credit the accusations which had most maliciously been heaped upon the Red-cross Knights. He also addressed the pope in their favour. Our weak king, however, was never firm to any purpose except where his favourite was concerned. The ruin of the order was therefore resolved upon; but, thank God! their suppression in England was unaccompanied by atrocious cruelties.

In 1308, in the second year of Edward's reign, one of the royal clerks was sent round with writs to all the sheriffs of counties, ordering each and all of them to summon a certain number of freeholders in the several counties,—"good and lawful men,"—to meet on an appointed day, to treat of matters touching the king's peace. The sheriffs and freeholders met on the day fixed, and then they were all made to swear that they would execute certain sealed orders which were delivered to the sheriffs by king's messengers. These orders, when opened, were to be executed *suddenly*. The same conspiracy-like measures were adopted in Ireland, and in both countries on the same day—nearly at the same hour—all their lands, tenements, goods, and all kinds of property, as well

ecclesiastical as temporal, were attached, and the knights themselves arrested.* In the month of October, 1309, courts were constituted by the Archbishop of Canterbury, at London, York, and Lincoln. Forty-seven of the knights, the noblest of the order in England, who were brought from the Tower before the Bishop of London and the envoys of the pope, boldly pleaded their innocence: the evidence produced against them amounted to less than nothing; but the courts were appointed to convict, not to absolve, and, in spite of all law, they sent them back to their prisons to wait for timid minds and fresh evidence. The pope then censured the king for not making use of torture. "Thus," he wrote, "the knights have refused to declare the truth. Oh! my dear son, consider whether this be consistent with your honour and the safety of your kingdom." The Archbishop of York inquired of his clergy whether torture, which had hitherto been unheard of in England, might be employed on the Templars: he added that there was no machine for torture in the land, and asked whether he should send abroad for one, in order that the prelates might not be chargeable with negligence.† From the putting of such questions we may suppose that this archbishop was one who would not hesitate at cruelty; but it appears pretty evident that torture was *not* used on this occasion in England. The Templars were worn down by poverty and long imprisonment, and then the threat of punishing as heretics all those who did not plead guilty to the charges produced its effect. The timid yielded first: some of the corrupt were bought over by the court, and finally (more than three years after their arrest) the English Templars, with the exception of William de la More, their grand prior, and two or three others who shared his heroic firmness, made a vague confession; upon which they were sent into confinement in various

* The number of Templars seized was about 250. Of these about 30 were arrested in Ireland. It appears that only two knights were seized in Scotland.

† Hemingford.

monasteries, the king allowing them a pittance for their support out of their immense revenues. In the 17th year of Edward's reign it was ordained by the king and parliament that the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem should have all the lands of the *late* Templars.*

* Raynouard, Hist. de la Condamnation des Templiers.—Wilkins, Concilia.—Rymer.—Stow.—Hemingford.

Edward III.

A.D. 1327.—When Edward was proclaimed king, parliament decreed that a regency should be appointed, "to have the rule and government;" and to this end twelve of the greatest lords of the realm, lay and ecclesiastic, were named. The Earl of Lancaster was appointed guardian and protector of the young king's person. The same parliament reversed the attainders which had been passed in 1322 against the great Earl of Lancaster and his adherents; confiscated the immense estates of the Despensers; granted a large sum of money to Isabella, the queen-mother, to pay her debts; and voted her a jointure of twenty thousand pounds a-year,—a most liberal allowance for those times, and which materially contributed to secure her ascendancy. Nearly the whole power of government was indeed monopolized by her and Mortimer.

Although Edward was excluded from political duties, he was not considered too young for those of war. It is said that his martial spirit had already declared itself; but it is probable that Mortimer at least would be glad to see him thus occupied at a distance from the court. The Scots had suffered too cruelly not to be anxious for revenge; and the existing truce was not sufficient to make them resist the temptation of what they considered a favourable opportunity,—the true King of England, as they deemed, being shut up in prison, and a boy intruded on the throne. In whatever way they might reason, the Scots acted with great vigour; and all nations in their circumstances would have been equally regardless of the truce. About February they began to make inroads into England, and these border forays were soon succeeded by the march of regular armies. Age and declining health had no effect on the valour and activity of Robert Bruce, who seems to have hoped that he should be

able, under circumstances, to convert the truce into an honourable peace if not to recover the northern provinces of England which the Scottish kings had possessed at no very remote date. He summoned his vassals from all parts —from the Lowlands, the Highlands, and the Isles; and twenty-five thousand men assembled on the banks of the Tweed, all animated with the remembrance of recent wrongs and cruel sufferings. Of this host about four thousand were well armed and well mounted; the rest rode upon mountain ponies and galloways, which could subsist upon anything, and support every fatigue. Bruce intrusted the command of this army of invasion to Randolph, Earl of Moray, and the Lord James Douglas. Crossing the Tweed, these chiefs marched through Northumberland and Durham, and penetrated into the richer country of York, without meeting any valid resistance. The mountaineers plundered and burnt all the villages and open towns that lay on the road, and seized so many fat beeves that they hardly knew what to do with them. At the first breath of this invasion, a powerful army, said to have amounted to sixty thousand horse and foot, had gathered round the standard of young Edward; but his movements were retarded by a furious quarrel which broke out between the native English archers and the foreign troops of Isabella's knight errant, John of Hainault. These allies fought in the streets and suburbs of York, where many lives were lost on both sides.* When these differences were composed, Edward marched to the north, and soon came in sight of the smoke of the fires which the Scots had lit. Instantly the cry to arms ran through the English force, and horse and foot, knights and squires, with a tremendous body of archers, formed in order of battle, and so marched on, "even till the vesper hour." But the unequal force of Bruce retired, and not a Scot was to be seen anywhere, though the flames of burning villages, far, and then farther off, marked the line of their retreat. The English, fatigued by the pursuit and in order to wait for their sup-

* Froissart.

plies of provisions, encamped for the night and so lost all chance of ever coming up with the fleet Scots. After much useless labour, it was determined that Edward should move northward in a straight line, and, crossing the Tyne, occupy the roads between that river and the Tweed, by which, it was calculated, the enemy must return to their own country. But when the English got to the north of the Tyne, they found the country so entirely wasted that they could procure neither forage nor provisions, and after staying there several days in vain expectation of intercepting the enemy, they recrossed the Tyne and retraced their steps towards the south, in a perplexing state of ignorance as to the movements of the Scots. Edward ordered it to be cried through camp and country that he would give a heritage worth a hundred pounds a-year, together with the honours of knighthood, to any man that would bring him certain information of the place where he might find the enemy. The prize was won by one Thomas of Rokeby, who came riding very hard to the king, and brought intelligence that the Scots, equally ignorant of the whereabout of the English, were encamped on a hill not more than three leagues off. Edward confessed, ordered a number of masses, and then marching, soon came in sight of the enemy, who were advantageously posted on the right bank of the Wear. The river was rapid and dangerous to pass, and there was no other way of getting at the Scots. As the latter showed themselves in order of battle, the young king sent a herald to challenge them to meet him like soldiers, on a fair and open field. The Scots were not so chivalrously inclined: the fiery Douglas, indeed, was nettled at the defiance, and would fain have accepted the challenge, but he was overruled by the better prudence of Moray. That night the English lay on the bare ground on the left bank of the river, facing the Scots, who lit a prodigious number of fires along their strong position. Thus passed the night, which was the night of St. Peter ad Vincula, in the beginning of August, and in the morning the English lords heard mass. In the course of the next day, a few knights and men-at-arms, who had strong

horses, swam the river and skirmished with the enemy; but these were idle bravadoes, that cost many lives and produced no effect. For three days and nights the English lay on the river side. On the morning of the fourth day, when the English looked towards the hill on the right bank, they saw no army, for the Scots had secretly decamped in the middle of the night. It was presently ascertained that they had only moved to a short distance farther up the river, where they had taken up a position still stronger than the one they had left. Edward made a corresponding movement on the other bank, and encamped on another hill, immediately opposite,—the river being between them as before. For eighteen days and nights the two hosts thus lay facing each other and doing nothing, but only suffering great discomfort. At last the Scots abandoned this second position, taking the English, it is said, again by surprise, and marching away unheard and unseen at the dead of night. If this account be true, the English were sadly wanting in proper military vigilance; but it appears more than probable that they were as anxious to be rid of the Scots as the Scots were to be quit of them, and that Edward's officers were glad to be able to cross the Wear without fighting at disadvantage for the passage. And soon after, fording the river, Edward marched straight to York, where the army was disbanded. The Scots got back to their own country with much booty. The young king, "right pensive," returned to London.* Both Mortimer and his mother were, for their own private interests, desirous of peace, and, soon after, they opened negotiations with Robert Bruce, who, on his side, labouring under his "heavy malady," and seeing that his son who was to succeed him was still an infant, was anxious to terminate the war by a definitive and honourable treaty.

Before this treaty was concluded, young Edward was married to Philippa of Hainault, to whom his mother had contracted him during her escapade on the Continent.

* Froissart.

This young lady was brought over to England by her uncle John of Hainault, a little before Christmas. She was received at London "with jousts, tournaments, dances, carols, and great and beautiful repasts,"—and on the 24th of January (A.D. 1328) the marriage ceremonies were completed at York. A few months after, about the Feast of Whitsuntide, the Parliament met at Northampton, and there put the last hand to the peace with Bruce. The basis of this treaty was the recognition of the complete independence of Scotland. One of its leading articles was, that a marriage should take place between Prince David, the only son of Robert Bruce, and the Princess Joanna, a sister of King Edward. In spite of the tender age of the parties (for the bride was in her seventh and the bridegroom only in his fifth year), this part of the treaty was carried into almost immediate effect: the queen-mother Isabella carried her daughter to Berwick, where the marriage was solemnised, on the day of Mary Magdalen, the 22nd of July. With the princess, whom the Scots surnamed "Joan Makepeace," were delivered up many of the jewels, charters, and other things which had been taken out of Scotland by Edward I. In return for these and other advantages, Bruce agreed to pay to the King of England thirty thousand marks in compensation for the damages done by the Scots in their recent invasion. The great Bruce, who had raised his country from the depth of servitude to this glorious enfranchisement, did not long survive the peace, dying at his little castle of Cardross on the 7th of June in the following year.

In the month of October, parliament met again at Salisbury, and then Mortimer was created Earl of March, or Lord of the Marches of Wales. The council of regency was in a manner displaced, and the whole government seemed more than ever to be shared between him and the queen-mother. The Earl of Lancaster was the first to attempt to make head against this new favourite; but, though he was guardian of the young king, Edward remained with Mortimer and his mother, and after a show of force at Winchester, the earl was obliged to retreat.

Mortimer fell upon his estates and plundered them. The young king's uncles, the Earls of Kent and Norfolk, joined Lancaster; but, from some cause or other, they abandoned him almost immediately after, upon which the earl was compelled to submit to ask pardon in a humiliating manner, and to pay an immense fine.*

A.D. 1330.—The Earl of Kent was now made to pay an awful price for his levity. He was surrounded by the artful agents of Mortimer, and led to believe a story which was then widely circulated, that his brother Edward II., in whose deposition he had taken so active a part, was not dead, but living. The body exhibited at Berkeley Castle and afterwards buried at Gloucester (so went the legend) was not that of the deposed king, who was actually shut up in Corfe Castle. Some monks urged the Earl of Kent to release his captive brother, and restore him to the throne. The earl even received letters from the pope, exhorting him to pursue the same course. These letters appear to have been forgeries, but they imposed upon the credulous earl, who even went the length of writing to his dead brother, which letters were delivered to Sir John Maltravers, one of the suspected assassins of the late king. These strange epistles were put into the hands of Isabella and Mortimer, who immediately summoned a parliament to try the traitor. The Earl of Kent was inveigled to Winchester, and there a parliament, consisting solely of the partisans of Isabella and Mortimer, met on the 11th of March. The Earl of Kent was produced as a prisoner; and on the 16th he was convicted of high treason, for having designed to raise a dead man to the throne; at least nothing else was proved, or attempted to be proved, against him; and thus this trial is entitled to a place among the curiosities of jurisprudence. On account of his royal birth, it was not expected that the sentence against the earl would be carried into execution: but people had not taken the proper measure of Mortimer's audacity:—on the 19th the son of the great Edward was carried to the place of exe-

* Heming.—Knyght.—Wals.—Rymer.—Holinsh.

cution outside the town of Winchester; but when he reached the spot nobody could be found that would perform the office of headsman. For four hours the life of the earl was painfully prolonged by this popular scruple: at last a convicted felon took up the axe, on condition of a free pardon, and the head was struck off.*

About three months after the execution of the Earl of Kent, Philippa, the young queen, was delivered, at Woodstock, of her first child,—the Prince Edward, afterwards so celebrated under the title of the Black Prince. A father, and eighteen years of age, the king now thought it time to assert his authority; and the nation was most willing to assist him in overthrowing the usurpation of his mother and her lover. At first, however, no person about the court was bold enough to declare himself; and when Edward opened his mind to the Lord Montacute, it was with the most circumspect secrecy, and the first steps taken in conjunction with this prudent nobleman were cautious in the extreme. In the month of October the parliament met at Nottingham: Edward with his mother and Mortimer were lodged in the castle; the bishops and barons took up their quarters in the town and the neighbourhood. On the morning of the 19th Edward had a private conference with the Lord Montacute, who immediately after was seen to ride away into the country with many friends and attendants. In the afternoon Mortimer appeared before the council with a troubled countenance. This was a nervous moment for the young king: Mortimer proclaimed to the members of the council that a base attempt was making against him and the queen-mother, and that Edward himself was privy to the conspiracy. Edward denied the charge; but the favourite treated him as a liar. At the dead of the night the Lord Montacute and his associates returned quietly to Nottingham. The strong castle was not a place to be taken by assault or surprise. A proper military guard was kept, and the keys of the great gates were carried every evening to Isabella, who laid them by her bed-

* Heming.—Knyght.—Murim.—Holinshed.

side. But the conspirators had taken measures to defeat all these precautions: Montacute had won over the governor of the castle, who had agreed to admit them through a secret subterraneous passage, the outlet of which, concealed by brambles and rubbish, opened at the foot of the castle hill. It was near the hour of midnight when Montacute and his friends crawled through this dismal passage: when within the castle walls, and at the foot of the main tower, they were joined by Edward, who led them up a staircase into a dark apartment. Here they heard voices proceeding from a hall which adjoined to the queen-mother's chamber; they were the voices of Mortimer, the Bishop of Lincoln, and other adherents, who were sitting in late and anxious consultation. The intruders burst open the door, killing two knights who tried to defend the entrance. The guilty Isabella rushed from her bed, and in tears and in an agony of grief implored her "sweet son" to spare "her gentle Mortimer." The favourite was not slaughtered there, but he was dragged out of the castle and committed to safe custody. On the following morning Edward issued a proclamation informing his lieges that he had now taken the government into his own hands; and he summoned a new parliament to meet at Westminster on the 26th of November.*

Before this parliament the fallen favourite was arraigned: the principal charges brought against him were, his having procured the death of the late king, and the judicial murder of the Earl of Kent; his having "accroached" or usurped the power which lawfully belonged to the council of regency, and appropriated to himself the king's moneys,—especially the twenty thousand marks recently paid by the King of Scots. His peers found all these articles of impeachment to be "notoriously true, and known to them and all the people;" and they sentenced him to be drawn and hanged.† Edward, who was present in court during the trial, then requested them to judge Mortimer's confederates, but this they would not do until they had protested in form that they

* Knyght.—Heming.—Wals.—Rymer.

† Rot. Parl.—Knyghton.

were not bound to sit in judgment on any others than men who were peers of the realm, like themselves. Sir Simon Bereford, Sir John Maltravers, John Deverel, and Boeges de Bayonne, were condemned to death as accomplices, but three of these individuals had escaped. Mortimer was accompanied to the gallows only by Bereford. They were hanged, at "the Elms," on the 29th of November. The queen-mother was deprived of her enormous jointure, and shut up in her castle or manor-house at Risings, where she passed the remaining twenty-seven years of her life in obscurity. In this same parliament a price was set upon the heads of Gourney and Ogle, the reputed murderers of the late king. Gourney was arrested in Spain and delivered over to an English officer, who, obeying secret instructions, cut off his head at sea. From this and other circumstances it has been imagined that there were persons who still retained their influence at court, to whom silence upon all that regarded this horrid subject was particularly convenient. What became of Ogle does not appear. Sir John Maltravers was taken and executed, but on a different charge, namely, for having aided Mortimer in misleading the Earl of Kent. The Lord Berkeley, in whose castle the deed had been done, demanded a trial and was fully acquitted.

We have noticed the death of the great Bruce, which happened in 1330: in the following year his brave companion in arms, the Lord James Douglas, was killed by the Moors in Spain as he was carrying his master's heart to the Holy Land; and in the month of July, 1332, Randolph, earl of Moray, who had been appointed regent of the kingdom of Scotland and guardian of Prince David, died suddenly. The Earl of Moray was succeeded in the regency by Donald, earl of Marr, a man inferior to him in prudence and ability. An article in the last treaty of peace had stipulated that a few English noblemen should be restored to estates they held in Scotland. This article was faithfully observed with regard to Henry de Percy; but it was disregarded with respect to the Lords Wake and Henry de Beaumont, and these two noblemen resolved to obtain redress by changing the

dynasty of Scotland. Setting up the rights of Edward Baliol, the son and heir of the miserable John of that name, whom Edward I. had crowned and uncrowned, they went into the counties near the borders, where they were presently joined by other English lords; and when Edward Baliol came over from Normandy, a few disaffected Scots came across the borders to join him. Edward felt, or pretended to feel, many scruples,—for the infant Queen of Scotland was his own sister, and he had also sworn to observe the treaty. Proclamations were issued prohibiting the gathering of any army of invasion on the borders; but this did not prevent—nor was it intended to prevent—Baliol and the Lords Wake and Henry de Beaumont from getting ready a small fleet and army on the shores of the Humber. In the beginning of August this expedition sailed from Ravenspur: entering the Frith of Forth, the army landed at Kinghorn, on the coast of Fife, on the 6th, and five days after won one of the most astonishing victories recorded in history. Edward Baliol,—we use his name because he was first in dignity, though it is evident the campaign was directed by some bolder and abler mind than his,—on finding himself suddenly in presence (or nearly so) of two Scottish armies,—the one commanded by the Regent Marr, the other by the Earl of March,—boldly threw himself between them, and encamped at Forteviot, with the river Earn running between him and the forces of the regent. At the dead of night he crossed the Earn, and fell upon the sleeping Scots, who were slaughtered in heaps before they could get ready their arms. As day dawned, the regent blushed to see the insignificant band that had done all this mischief: he was still in a condition to take vengeance, but, in his blind fury, he engaged in a wretched pass where his men could not form; and his own life, with the lives of many of the Scottish barons, and of nearly all the men-at-arms, paid forfeit for his military blunder. Thirteen thousand Scots, in all, are said to have fallen, while Baliol, who had not three thousand when he began the battle, lost but a few men. From Duplin Moor, where this victory was gained, Edward

Baliol ran to Perth, being closely pursued the whole way by the Earl of March, at the head of the other strong division of the Scots. He had just time to get within that city, and throw up some barricades. March besieged him there; but there were both scarcity and treachery in the Scottish camp: their fleet was destroyed by the English squadron which Baliol had ordered round to the mouth of the Tay; the ancient followers of his family, with all those who had forfeited their estates for their treasons under Bruce, with all who were in any way disaffected, or who hoped to benefit largely by a revolution, flocked to the standard of the Pretender, who was crowned King of Scotland, at Scone, on the 24th of September. Edward Baliol had thus gained a crown in some seven or eight weeks, but he lost it in less than three months. Having secretly renewed to the English king all the forms of feudal submission imposed on his father by Edward I., and having stupified his opponents by the rapidity of his success, he retired with an inconsiderable force to Annan, in Dumfriesshire, where he intended to pass his Christmas. On the night of the 16th of December he was surprised there by a body of horse commanded by the young Earl of Moray, Sir Archibald Douglas, and Sir Simon Frazer. He got to horse, but had no time to saddle, and, nearly naked himself, he galloped away on a bare back, leaving his brother Henry dead behind him. He succeeded in crossing the borders into England, where Edward received him as a friend. With or without orders, the people near the Tweed and the Solway Frith now made incursions into England, carrying fire and slaughter with them. The inroads of the Scots, however, gave Edward a colourable pretext for declaring that they had infringed the treaty of peace, and he prepared for war,—the parliament then engaging to assist him to the utmost.*

In the month of May, 1333, Berwick was invested by a powerful English army; and on the 16th of July, Sir William Keith was obliged to promise that he would sur-

* Fordun.—Knyght.—Heming.—Rider.

reader on the 20th at sunrise, if not previously relieved by Lord Archibald Douglas, who now acted as regent of Scotland. On Monday, the 19th, after a fatiguing march, Douglas came in sight of Berwick, and found Edward's main army drawn up on Halidon Hill, about a mile to the north-west of the town. This elevation was in part surrounded by bogs and marshes; yet, in spite of all these advantages, the Scots resolved to attack them. As they moved slowly through the bogs they were sorely galled by the English bowmen: when they got firm footing they rushed up the hill with more rapidity than order: their onslaught, however, was tremendous, and for a moment seemed to be successful; but the English, who were admirably posted, repelled the attack: the regent Douglas was killed in the melée; many lords and chiefs of clans fell around him; and then the Scots fell into confusion, and fled on every side. Edward spurred after them with his English cavalry,—the Lord Darcy followed up with a horde of Irish kerns who were employed as auxiliaries. Between the battle and the flight the loss was prodigious: never, say the old writers, had Scotland sustained such a defeat or witnessed such slaughter. The young king, David Bruce, with his wife, Edward's innocent sister, was conveyed into France, and Edward Baliol was again seated on a dishonoured throne. He openly professed homage and feudal service in its full extent to the king of England; and he not only made over the town of Berwick, but ceded in perpetuity the whole of Berwickshire, Roxburghshire, Selkirkshire, Peeblesshire, and Dumfriesshire, together with the Lothians,—in short, the best part of Scotland. Edward left his mean vassal an army of Irish and English to defend him in his dismembered kingdom; but soon after his departure the indignant Scots drove Baliol once more across the borders, and sent to request assistance from the king of France, who hospitably entertained their young king and queen in the Château Gaillard. Edward, on his side, reinforced Baliol, who returned to the south of Scotland, and maintained himself there among English garrisons.

In 1335, Edward, having still further reinforced his vassal, marched with a powerful army along the western coast of Scotland, while Baliol advanced from Berwick by the eastern. In the month of August these two armies formed a junction at Perth, and, as they had met with little opposition, it was thought that the spirit of the Scots was subdued; but no sooner had Edward turned his back than the patriots fell upon Baliol from all quarters. In the following summer Edward was again obliged to repair to the assistance of his creature, and having scoured the country as far north as Inverness, and burnt several towns, he flattered himself that he had at last subdued all opposition. But, again, as soon as the English king had crossed the borders, the Scots fell upon Baliol. This obliged Edward to make a second campaign that same year: he marched to Perth in the month of November, and, after desolating other parts of the country, he returned to England about Christmas, once more buoyed up by the hope that he had mastered the Scots. As long as he was thus supported, Baliol contrived to maintain a semblance of authority in the Lowlands.

Affairs were in this uncertain state in Scotland when Edward's attention was withdrawn, and his mind filled by a wilder dream of ambition,—the plan of attaching the whole French kingdom to his dominions. Charles IV., the last of the three brothers of Isabella, the queen-mother of England, died in 1328, in the second year of Edward's reign: he had no children, but left his wife enceinte. A regency was appointed, and the crown was kept in abeyance; if Joan should be delivered of a son, then that infant was to be king; but in due time she gave birth to a daughter, and, by an ancient interpretation of a portion of the Salic law, and by the usages and precedents of many ages, it was held that no female could reign in France. The daughter of the last king was set aside without debate or hesitation; and Philip of Valois, cousin-german to the deceased king, ascended the throne, taking the title of Philip VI. Edward's mother, Isabella, with the state lawyers of England and some foreign

jurists in English pay, pretended from the first that Edward had a preferable right; but it was deemed unsafe to press it at the time: and when Philip of Valois demanded that the king of England should, in his quality of Duke of Aquitaine, go over to France and do homage to him, threatening to dispossess him of his continental dominions if he refused, the young king of England was obliged to comply. Putting aside the incapacity of females, Edward certainly was nearer in the line of succession; he was grandson of Philip IV. by his daughter Isabella, whereas Philip of Valois was grandson to the father of that monarch, Philip III., by his younger son Charles of Valois. But Philip traced through males, and Edward only through his mother. The latter, however, maintained that, although by the fundamental laws of France, his mother, as a female, was herself excluded, he, as her son, was not; but Philip and all France insisted that a mother could not transmit to her children any right which she never possessed herself. The principle assumed by Edward was a startling novelty,—it had never been heard of in France: but, even if he had been able to prove it, he would have proved a great deal too much, and would have excluded himself as well as Philip of Valois; for by that very principle the succession rested with the son of Joan, queen of Navarre, who was the daughter of Louis X., the eldest brother of Isabella, as also of Philip V. and Charles IV., who had, in default of issue male, succeeded the one after the other; and if this son of the queen of Navarre had been born a little earlier than he was, then, by this same principle, Charles IV., the last king, must have been a usurper.* The French, moreover, who ought to have been the only judges in this case, maintained it to be a fundamental law, *that no foreigner could reign in France*, and contended that one of the principal objects of the so-called Salic law was to exclude the husbands and children of the

* Joan was married in 1310, during the reign of her first uncle, Philip V.; she was then only six years old, and certainly had not borne a son four years after 1322, when her third uncle, Charles IV., ascended the throne.

princesses of France, who generally married foreigners. It was in every sense with a peculiarly bad grace that the English set themselves up as authorities in the laws of royal succession: by no people had such laws been more thoroughly disregarded at home: from the time of William the Norman, who was a usurper by conquest, four out of ten of their kings had been usurpers, or were only to be relieved from that imputation by the admission of the principle that the estates of the kingdom had the right of electing the king from among the members of the royal family. The present question would have been at once decided by leaving this same right of election to the French. The peers of the kingdom had voted that the crown belonged to him; the Assembly of Paris had decreed the same thing; and the States General afterwards confirmed their judgment: and not only the whole nation, but all Europe, had recognised Philip. Edward himself, in 1331, had repeated his homage to him in a more satisfactory way than on the former occasion; and it was not till 1336 that he openly declared that the peers of France and the States General had acted rather like villains and robbers than upright judges; and that he would no longer submit to their decision, or recognise the French king, who had now reigned in peace more than seven years.* But the plain truth was, that Edward had not been able to shape his intrigues and make his preparations earlier; and now several concurring circumstances hurried him on. Philip had not only given an asylum to David Bruce, but was actually beginning to aid the Scottish patriots with ships, arms, and money. Edward, on his side, had given shelter to Robert of Artois, who was descended from the blood royal of France, who had

* Rymer. — Froissart. — Villaret, Hist. Fr. — Gaillard, Hist. de la Rivalité de la France et de l'Angleterre. — Edward repeatedly offered to give up his claims if Philip would abandon the cause of the king of Scots, and restore some places he had seized in Gascony. See Rymer. — Philip thought the claims too ridiculous to be worth any sacrifice of honour, and he was not captivated by Edward's proposal of intermarrying their children.

married king Philip's sister, and who was supposed to have a strong party in France. On account of a disputed succession to the great fief of Artois, this Robert had been involved in a quarrel (that entailed disgrace on both parties) with his brother-in-law of France, who eventually had driven him into exile and hanged some of his adherents. Robert was a man of violent passions; his rage against the French king was boundless; he was skilful alike in the cabinet and the field, few princes enjoying a higher military reputation. Philip, who foresaw the consequences of his stay in England, threatened to fall upon Guienne if Edward did not immediately dismiss him. There was not a sovereign in Europe so little likely to bear this insulting threat as the powerful English king, who sent over a commission, bearing date the 7th October, 1337, to the Earl of Brabant and others, to demand for him the crown of France as his indisputable right. The nation went along with the king; the coming war with France was most popular with all men; and having obtained subsidies, tallages, and forced loans,—having seized the tin in Cornwall and Devonshire, and the wool of the year all over the kingdom,—having even pawned the jewels of the crown, and adopted almost every possible means of raising money to subsidize his allies on the Continent, Edward sailed with a respectable fleet, and a fine but not large army, on the 15th of July, 1338. Four days after he landed at Antwerp, where he had secured himself a friendly reception. The Earl of Flanders was bound to his rival Philip; but this prince had scarcely a shadow of authority in the country, where the democratic party had triumphed over the nobles, and the inhabitants of the great trading cities had placed themselves under the government of James von Artaveldt, a brewer of Ghent, who was in fact in possession of a more than sovereign authority in that rich and populous country,—an authority which he exercised rigorously enough, but on the whole with great wisdom. The King of France was hated by the Flemings, as the declared enemy of this state of things, and the avowed protector of the expelled or humbled nobles; and when

Edward, doing violence probably to his own feelings, did not hesitate to court their plebeian alliance, they forgot some old grudges against the English, and engaged to assist heart and hand in their wars. Edward's other allies were the Emperor of Germany, the Dukes of Brabant and Gueldres, the Archbishop of Cologne, the Marquis of Juliers, the Counts of Hainault and Namur, the Lords of Fauquemont and Bacquen, and some others, who, for certain subsidies, engaged to assist him with their forces. At the same time Philip of France allied himself with the Kings of Navarre and Bohemia, the Dukes of Brittany, Austria, and Lorraine, the Palatine of the Rhine, and with several of the inferior princes of Germany. The whole of this year, 1338, was, however, passed in inactivity; and after granting trading privileges to the Flemings and Brabanters, and spending his money among the Germans, all that Edward could procure from them was a promise to meet him *next* year in the month of July. But it was the middle of September, 1339, ere the English king could take the field, and then only fifteen thousand men-at-arms followed him to the siege of Cambray. On the frontiers of France the Counts of Namur and Hainault abandoned him. Edward then advanced to Peronne and St. Quentin, burning all the villages and open towns. Here the rest of his allies halted, and refused to go farther. Edward then turned towards the Ardennes, and, as Philip avoided a battle, he found himself obliged to retire to Ghent, having spent all his money and contracted an enormous debt. The pope made an attempt to restore peace; but Edward turned a deaf ear to his remonstrances, and immediately afterwards, by the advice, it is said, of Von Artaveldt, publicly assumed the title of King of France, and quartered the French lilies in his arms.* About the middle of February, 1340, he returned to England to obtain fresh resources, and the parliament voted him immense sup-

* Until he assumed the title of lawful king of France, many, even among the turbulent Flemings, had scruples; they cared nothing for Philip or his authority, but as vassals (nominal at least) they respected the name of King of France.

plies. Before he could return to Flanders he was informed that Philip had collected a tremendous fleet, in the harbour of Sluys, to intercept him. His council advised him to stay till more ships could be collected; but he would not be detained, and set sail, with such an English fleet as was ready, on the 22nd of June. On the following evening he came in sight of the enemy, who, on the morning of the 24th, drew out to the mouth of the harbour of Sluys. The battle soon joined. The English gained a complete victory; nearly the whole of the French fleet was taken, and from ten to fifteen thousand of their mariners were killed or drowned.*

This splendid success, and, still more, the great sums of money Edward carried with him, brought his allies trooping round his standard. Two hundred thousand men, in all, are said to have followed him to the French frontier; but again the mass of this incongruous host broke up without doing anything, and after challenging the French king to single combat, and spending all his money, Edward was obliged to agree to an armistice. The pope again laudably interfered, and endeavoured to convert the truce into a lasting peace. Edward could not chastise his lukewarm allies, but he resolved to vent his spite on his ministers at home, who, he pretended, had not done their duty. One night, in the end of November, he appeared suddenly at the Tower of London, where no one expected him, and where there were very evident signs of a culpable negligence. The next morning he threw three of the judges into prison, displaced the chancellor, the treasurer, and the master of the rolls, and ordered the arrest of several of the officers who had been employed in collecting the revenue. Stratford, the archbishop of Canterbury, who was president of the council of ministers, fled to Canterbury, and when summoned to appear, appealed for himself and his colleagues to the protection of Magna Charta, and issued the old excommunication against all such as should violate its provisions and the liberties of the subject by

* Wals.—Froissart.—Avesb.—Knyght.

arbitrary arrests or the like. He would be tried, he said, by his peers, and would plead or make answer to no other persons or person whatsoever.* The king was now greatly distressed for money, and acting on that wise system, from the observance of which it has happened that the liberties of England have been purchased rather by the money than by the blood of the subject, parliament refused to pass the grants he wanted, unless he gave them an equivalent in the shape of a reform of past abuses and a guarantee against future ones.

In the course of the year 1341, the French king allowed David of Scotland, who had now attained his eighteenth year, to return to his own dominions. David, with his wife, landed at Inverbervie on the 4th of May. Long before his coming the patriots had triumphed; they had taken castle after castle, and, in 1338, had again driven Baliol into England. They now enabled the young king to form a respectable government. The alliance with France was continued, and, within a year after his return, the Bruce made several successful inroads into the northern counties of England. Edward was so absorbed by his continental schemes, that he was glad to conclude a truce with the restored king of the Scots. Baliol was provided for in the north of England, where for some years he did the duty of keeping watch and ward against the Scottish borderers.

As long as Edward fought with foreign mercenaries and from the side of Flanders, he was unsuccessful; but now he was about to try the arms of his native English, and circumstances soon opened him a new road into France, and enabled him to change the seat of the war from the Flemish frontier, to Normandy, Brittany, and Poictou, the real scenes of his military glory. John III., duke of Brittany, died in 1341, and left no children though he had had three wives. Of his two brothers, Guy and John de Montfort, Guy, the elder, had died some time before him, leaving only a daughter, Jane, surnamed *la Boiteuse* (or the Lame), who was married

* Rymer.—Rot. Parl.—Heming.

to Charles de Blois, nephew of the French king. A dispute then arose between the uncle and the niece, each claiming the duchy by the laws of inheritance. The uncle, John de Montfort, was by far the more active and the more popular of these two competitors: as soon as his brother was dead, he rode to Nantes, and caused his claim to be recognised by the majority of the bishops and nobles;—he got possession of the treasures of the late duke, besieged and took Brest, Vannes, and the other chief fortresses, and then crossed over to England, privately, to solicit the co-operation of Edward, being well assured that, with or without reference to the old laws of Brittany, Philip would protect his nephew. Charles de Blois, in effect, went to Paris with his wife, and having no party in Brittany, threw himself upon the protection of Philip, who received him in a manner that left no doubt as to his decision. John de Montfort soon returned from England, and when summoned to attend a court of peers and other magnates which Philip had convoked to try this great cause, he went boldly to Paris, accompanied by four hundred gentlemen of Brittany. Montfort's pleadings, which have been preserved, are remarkable specimens of the taste, the law, and the spirit of the times. The divine law, the natural law, the Roman law, and the feudal law, the canons of the church, and the ancient customs of Brittany, were all put in requisition. He maintained, or his lawyers maintained for him, that the Salic law, excluding females, which obtained in France, must now be the law of Brittany, which was a fief of France—that women, who could not fight, could not reign—that he was nearer in blood to the late duke, his brother, than Jane, who was only the daughter of another brother; but what was evidently considered the strongest ground of all was, the incapacity of females, and on this particular point heathen philosophers, Moses, and the Christian apostles, were cited in most admired confusion. To all this Charles de Blois replied, that Jane, his wife, had all the rights of her father,—that she was the last shoot of the elder branch,—that females had repeatedly in-

herited the duchy,—and that her sex did not exclude her.* Philip demanded of De Montfort the immediate surrender of the treasures of the late duke. This demand convinced John that the judgment of the French court would be against him;—he saw, or suspected, preparations for arresting him, and leaving his parchments and most of his friends behind him, he fled from Paris in disguise. A few days after his flight, sentence was pronounced in favour of his opponent.

After his escape from Paris, De Montfort repaired to London, and there did homage for his duchy to Edward as lawful King of France. At the same time Charles de Blois did homage to Philip, who furnished him with an army of six thousand men. Edward's assistance was not so prompt; but De Montfort, relying on the affection of the people of Brittany, returned to make head against the French invaders. Soon after he was taken prisoner by treachery, and sent to Paris. Charles de Blois then got possession of Nantes and other towns, and thought that the contest was over; but De Montfort's wife was still in Brittany, and the fair countess had "the courage of a man and the heart of a lion."† With her infant son in her arms, she presented herself to the people, and implored their assistance for the only male issue of their ancient line of princes. Such an appeal from a young and beautiful woman made a deep impression. As if expressly to refute the argumentations of her husband, she put her hand to the sword, put a steel casque on her head, and rode from castle to castle,—from town to town,—raising troops and commanding them like a hardy knight. She sent over to England to hasten the succour which Edward had promised her husband; and to be at hand to receive these auxiliaries, she threw herself into Hennebon, situated on the coast at the point where the small river Blavet throws itself into the sea,

* Daru, Hist. de la Bretagne. The original manuscripts quoted are preserved in the Archives of Nantes, and in the Bibliothèque du Roi at Paris.

† Froissart.

leaving what was then a convenient port at its mouth. Long before the English ships arrived, she was besieged by the French under Charles de Blois. Within the walls she had the worst of enemies in a cowardly old priest, the Bishop of Leon,* who was incessantly expatiating to the inhabitants on the horrors of a town taken by assault, and showing them how prudent it would be to capitulate; but the young countess constantly visited all the posts, showed herself upon the ramparts where the arrows of the enemy fell thickest, and repeatedly headed sorties against the besiegers. The story of the siege, as told by Froissart, with the sorties and marvellous adventures of the young countess, is the most spirit-stirring and romantic episode in the history of this age of chivalry.

At last, a scarcity of provisions began to be felt, and still the succours of Edward did not arrive. Day after day, anxious eyes were cast seaward, and still no fleet was seen. The Bishop of Leon renewed his dismal croaking, and at length was allowed to propose a capitulation. The countess, however, entreated the lords of Brittany, for the love of God, to conclude nothing as yet. On the morrow, the garrison was wholly disheartened, the bishop again communicated with the enemy, and the French were coming up to take possession, when the countess, who was looking over the sea from a casement in the high tower, suddenly cried out with great joy, "The English, the English! I see the succours coming." And it was, indeed, the English fleet she saw crossing the line of the horizon. It had been detained forty days by contrary winds, but it now came merrily over the waves with a press of sail. The people of Hennebon crowded the seaward rampart to enjoy the sight. All thoughts of surrendering were abandoned; in brief time the English ships shot into the port, and landed a body of troops, under the command of Sir Walter Manny. The fair countess received her deliverers with enthusiastic gratitude. On the following

* It is not quite clear whether this bishop was coward or traitor: he had a brother in the service of Charles de Blois.

day, after a good dinner, Sir Walter Manny said, "Sirs, I have a great mind to go forth and break down this great battering engine of the French, if any will follow me." Then Sir Hugh of Treguier said that he would not fail him in this first adventure; and so said Sir Galeran. The knights armed, and the yeomen of England took their bows and arrows. Manny went quietly out by a postern with three hundred archers, and some forty men-at-arms. The archers shot "so thick together," that the French in charge of the engine could not stand it; they fled, and the machine was destroyed. Manny then rushed on the besiegers' tents and lodgings, set fire to them in many places, smiting and killing not a few, and then withdrew with his companions "fair and easily."*

The French the very morning after this affair raised the siege of Hennebon, and carried the war into Lower Brittany. But soon after, they suffered a tremendous loss at Quimperlé, where an army was cut to pieces by the English and the people of the countess. Some months after, however, Charles de Blois re-appeared in great force before Hennebon, and began a fresh siege. Another brilliant sortie, headed by Sir Walter, put an end to this second siege—the French retreating with disgrace. The wife of De Montfort then went over to England to press for further reinforcements which had been promised. Edward furnished her with some chosen troops, which were placed under the command of Robert of Artois, and embarked in forty-six vessels, most of which were small and weak. Off Guernsey, the ships encountered a French fleet of thirty-two tall ships, on board of which were a thousand men-at-arms, and three thousand Genoese crossbow-men. A fierce fight ensued, during which De Montfort's wife stood on the deck with a "stiff and sharp sword" and a coat of mail, fighting manfully; but the combat was interrupted by the darkness of night and a tremendous storm, and the English, after suffering some loss, got safely into a little port between Hennebon and Vannes. Robert of Artois

* Froissart.

landed the troops, and proceeded with the countess to lay siege to Vannes. After various sieges and fights Robert of Artois was mortally wounded. Edward then determined to head the war in Brittany himself, and sailed to Hennebon with twelve thousand men. He marched to Vannes, and established a siege there; he then proceeded to Rennes, and thence to Nantes, driving the French before him.

But Charles de Blois was reinforced by the Duke of Normandy, the eldest son of the French king, and then Edward retraced his steps to Vannes, which his captains had not been able to take. When the Duke of Normandy followed him with a far superior force, he intrenched himself in front of Vannes, and then the French formed an intrenched camp at a short distance from him. Here both parties lay for several weeks, during which winter set in. The Duke of Normandy dreaded every day that Edward would be reinforced from England. On the other side, Edward dreaded that he should be left without provisions. At this juncture, two legates of the pope arrived at the hostile camps, and, by their good offices, a truce was concluded for three years and eight months.*

Never was a truce less observed. One of the conditions of it was, that Philip should release John de Montfort; but Philip kept him in closer imprisonment than before, and answered the remonstrances of the pope with a miserable quibble. The war was continued against the Bretons, who still fought gallantly under their countess, and hostilities were carried on, both by sea and land, between the French and English. A savage deed threw an odium on King Philip, and roused the enmity of many powerful families. During a gay tournament, he suddenly arrested Oliver de Clisson, Godfrey d'Harcourt, and twelve other knights, and had their heads cut off in the midst of the Halles, or market-place of Paris. He sent the head of De Clisson into Brittany, to be stuck up on the walls of Nantes. Other nobles were disposed of in the same summary manner in

* P. Lobineau.—Daru.—Froissart.

Normandy and elsewhere. A cry of horror ran through the land. The lords of Brittany, who had supported Charles de Blois, went over to the countess; other lords, fearing they might be suspected, fled from the court, and *then* really opened a correspondence with Edward, and doomed Philip to destruction. Soon after these events John de Montfort, who had been a captive for three years, contrived to escape in the disguise of a pedlar, and to get over to England. Having renewed his homage to Edward, he received a small force, with which he repaired to Hennebon. The joy of his heroic wife was of short duration—for De Montfort died shortly after, appointing by will the King of England guardian to his son. Charles de Blois returned into the country, and renewed the war; but he had no chance of success, and Brittany remained an efficient ally of Edward. Whether he carried the war into Normandy or Poictou, it covered one of his flanks, and remained open to him as a place of retreat in case of a reverse. For some time, both he and Philip had been preparing for more extended hostilities.

A.D. 1345.—Sharing in the popular feeling, the English parliament recommended war. An army was sent into Guienne, under the command of Edward's cousin, the brave and accomplished Earl of Derby. The earl fell like a thunderbolt among the French; beat them in a decisive battle near Auberoche; took many of their nobles prisoners, and drove them out of the country, leaving only a few fortresses in their hands. About the same time Edward went in person to Sluys, to treat with the deputies of the free cities of Flanders. As Louis, the count of Flanders, though deprived of nearly all his revenues, and left with scarcely any authority, still refused to acknowledge the rights of the English king to the crown of France, Edward endeavoured, rather prematurely, to persuade the Flemings to transfer their allegiance to his own son. His old ally, James von Artaveldt, entered into this view; and his exertions for Edward cost him his life. Many of the cautious burgomasters opposed this extreme measure, and

set intrigues on foot; and Von Artaveldt's long and great power, however wisely used, in the main, for the good of the country, had raised him up numerous enemies. He was savagely murdered in a popular insurrection. Thus James von Artaveldt finished his days;—the brewer of Ghent, who, in his time, had been complete master of Flanders. "Poor men first raised him, and wicked men killed him."*

The news of this great event gave great joy to the Count of Flanders, and great grief to King Edward, who sailed away from Sluys, vowing vengeance against the Flemings who had thus murdered his steady friend and most valuable ally. The free towns fell into great consternation,—their prosperity depended on their trade; their trade in a great measure depended on England. If Edward should shut his ports to their manufactured goods, or prohibit the exportation of English wool, they knew that they would be little better than ruined. Bruges, Ypres, Courtray, Oudenarde,—all the chief towns except Ghent,—sent deputies to London to soften the wrath of the English king, and to vow that they were guiltless of the murder. Edward waived his claim to the formal cession of Flanders to his son, and contented himself with other advantages and promises, among which was one that the Flemings would, in the course of the following year, pour an army into France.

In 1346 Edward collected a fine army, consisting solely of English, Welsh, and Irish, and landed with them on the coast of Normandy, near Cape la Hogue, about the middle of July. That province was defenceless, for Edward's attack had been expected to fall upon the south. In the latter direction the Duke of Normandy had fallen upon the gallant Earl of Derby, and was endeavouring, with the flower of the French army, to drive the English from Guienne. One of Edward's principal objects was to create an alarm which should draw the French out of that province, and, by crossing the Seine, to join his allies, the Flemings, who had passed the French frontier. Having taken Carenton,

* Froissart.

St. Lo, and Caen, he marched to the left bank of the Seine, intending to cross that river at Rouen; but, when he got opposite that town, he found that Philip was there before him, that the bridge of boats was removed, and that a French army, in numbers far superior to his own, occupied the right bank. The English then ascended the river towards Paris by the left bank, the French manœuvring along the right, breaking down all the bridges, and preventing the enemy from passing the river. Edward burnt the villages, sacked the towns of Vernon and Mantes, and at last came to Poissy, within eight or nine miles of Paris. Here there was a good bridge, but it had been partially destroyed by order of Philip. The English marched from Poissy to St. Germain, which they burnt to the ground: by seizing some boats on the river they were enabled to do still further mischief; and St. Cloud, Bourg-la-Reine, and Neuilly were reduced to ashes. Still, however, Edward's situation was critical; he was separated from his Flemish auxiliaries, and Philip was reinforced daily. Having examined the bridge at Poissy, Edward struck his tents, and advanced as if he would attack Paris, and his van really penetrated to the suburbs of that capital. This movement obliged the French to cross over to the opposite bank, to the relief of that city. Edward then wheeled round, cleared the remains of the bridge of Poissy by means of his bowmen, repaired it, and crossed to the right bank. From the Seine he continued his way towards the river Somme, burning the suburbs of Beauvais, and plundering the town of Pois. Philip now determined to prevent his crossing the Somme: by rapid movements he got to Amiens on that river, and sent detachments along the right bank to destroy the bridges and guard every ford. The English attempted to pass at Pont St. Remi, Long, and Pequigny, but failed at each place. Meanwhile, Philip, who had now one hundred thousand men, divided his force, and while one division was posted on the right bank to prevent the passage of the English, he marched with the other along the left, to drive them towards the river and the sea.

So close was he upon his enemy, that he entered Airaines, where Edward had slept, only two hours after his departure. That evening the English reached Oisemont, near the coast, where they found themselves cooped up between the sea, the Somme, and the division of the French army with Philip, which was six times more numerous than their whole force. The marshals of the army were again sent to see whether there was any ford, but they again returned with the sad news that they could find none. At last a common fellow told him that there was a place, a little lower down, called Blanche-Taque, or the White Spot, which was fordable at the ebb of the tide. "The King of England," says Froissart, "did not sleep much that night, but, rising at midnight, ordered his trumpets to sound." Instantly the baggage was loaded, and everything got ready. At the peep of day the army set out and soon came to the ford; but Edward had the mortification to find not only that the tide was full, but that the opposite bank of the river was lined with twelve thousand men under the command of a great baron of Normandy called Sir Godemar du Fay. He was obliged to wait till the hour of "primes," when the tide was out. This was an awful suspense, for every moment he expected Philip in his rear. As soon as it was reported that the river was fordable, Edward commanded his marshals to dash into the water, "in the names of God and St. George." Instantly the most doughty and the best-mounted spurred into the river. Half way across they were met by the cavalry of Sir Godemar du Fay, and a fierce conflict took place in the water. When the English had overcome this opposition they had to encounter another, for the French still occupied, in battle array, a narrow pass which led from the ford up the right bank. Among others posted there, was a strong body of Genoese crossbow-men, who galled them sorely; but the English archers "shot so well together," that they forced all their opponents to give way, upon which Edward cleared the bank of the river; and while part of his forces pursued Du Fay, he encamped

with the rest in the pleasant fields between Crotoy and Crecy. Philip now appeared on the opposite side of the ford, where Edward had so long waited; but he was too late—the tide was returning and covering the ford; and, after taking a few stragglers, he thought it prudent to return up the river, to cross it by the bridge of Abbeville.

Edward was now within a few days' march of the frontiers of Flanders, but nothing was seen or heard of his Flemish auxiliaries. He was probably tired of retreating, and encouraged by the result of the remarkable battle at Blanche-Taque. When told that Philip would still pursue him, he said, "We will go no farther." As he had not the eighth part of the number of men that Philip had, his marshals selected an advantageous position on an eminence a little behind the village of Crecy. After supper he entered his oratory, and, falling on his knees, prayed God to bring him off with honour if he should fight on the morrow. Rising at early dawn, he and his son Edward heard mass, and communicated; the greater part of his people confessed, and put themselves in a comfortable state of mind. They had not been harassed for many hours; they had fared well: they had had a good night's rest, and were fresh and vigorous. After mass the king ordered the men to arm and assemble, each under his proper banner. In the rear of his army he enclosed a large park near a wood, in which he placed all his baggage-waggons and all his horses; for every one, man-at-arms as well as archer, was to fight that day on foot. The first division was under the command of his young son, with whom were placed the Earls of Warwick and Oxford, and other experienced captains; it consisted of about eight hundred men-at-arms, two thousand archers, and one thousand Welsh foot. A little behind them, and rather on their flank, stood the second division of eight hundred men-at-arms and twelve hundred archers, who were commanded by the Earls of Northampton and Arundel, the Lords De Roos, Willoughby, and others. The third division stood in reserve on the top of the hill; it con-

sisted of seven hundred men-at-arms and two thousand archers. The archers of each division formed in front, in the shape of a portcullis or harrow.

After his march and counter-march on the day of Blanche-Taque, Philip rested at Abbeville, and he lost a whole day there, waiting for reinforcements, among which were a thousand lances of the Count of Savoy. This morning, however, the French king marched to give battle breathing fury and vengeance: his countenance was clouded,— a savage silence could not conceal the agitation of his soul,—all his movements were precipitate, without plan or concert. It seemed as if the shades of De Clisson and his murdered companions flitted before his eyes and obscured his vision. He ran rather than marched from Abbeville, and when he came in sight of the well-ordered divisions of Edward, his men were tired and his rear-guard far behind. By the advice of a Bohemian captain, he agreed to put off the battle till the morrow, and two officers immediately rode, one along the van and the other toward the rear, crying out, "Halt, banners, in the name of God and St. Denis!" Those that were in front stopped, but those behind rode on, saying that they would not halt until they were as forward as the first. When the van felt the rear pressing on them they pushed forward, and neither the king nor the marshals could stop them, but on they marched without any order until they came near the English. Then the foremost ranks fell back at once in great disorder, which alarmed those in the rear, who thought there had been fighting. There was then room enough for those behind to pass in front had they been willing so to do: "some did so, and some remained very shy." All the roads between Abbeville and Crecy were covered with common people, who, while they were yet three leagues from their enemy, were bawling out, "Kill! kill!" "There is no man," says Froissart, "unless he had been present, that can imagine or truly record the confusion of that day, especially the bad management and disorder of the French, whose troops were innumerable." The kings, dukes, earls, barons, and lords of France, ad-

vanced each as he thought best. Philip was carried forward by the torrent, and as soon as he came in sight of the English, his blood began to boil, and he cried out, "Order the Genoese forward, and begin the battle, in the name of God and St. Denis!" These Genoese were famous crossbow-men: according to Froissart, they were fifteen thousand strong. But they were quite fatigued, having that day marched six leagues on foot. Thus they told the Constable that they were not in a state to do any great exploit of battle that day. The Count d'Alençon, King Philip's brother, hearing this, said, "See what we get by employing such scoundrels, who fail us in our need." The susceptible Italians were not likely to forget these hasty and insulting words, but they formed and led the van. They were supported by the Count d'Alençon, with a numerous cavalry. While these things were passing, a heavy rain fell, accompanied by thunder: and there was a fearful eclipse of the sun. About five in the afternoon, the weather cleared up and the sun shone forth in full splendour. His rays darted full in the eyes of the French, but the English had the sun at their backs. When the Genoese had made their approach, they set up a terrible shout to strike terror into the English; but the English yeomen remained motionless, not seeming to care for it: they sent up a second shout, and advanced, but still the English moved not; they shouted a third time, and advancing a little, began to discharge their cross-bows. Then the English moved, but it was one step forward, and they shot their arrows with such rapidity and vigour "that it seemed as if it snowed." These well-shot arrows pierced shield and armour; the Genoese could not stand them. On seeing these auxiliaries waver and then fall back, the King of France cried out in a fury, "Kill me those scoundrels, for they stop our way without doing any good!" and at these words the French men-at-arms laid about them, killing and wounding the retreating Genoese. All this wonderfully increased the confusion; and still the English yeomen kept shooting as vigorously as before into the midst of the crowd: many of their arrows fell among

d'Alençon's splendid cavalry, and killing and wounding many, made them caper and fall among the Genoese, "so that they could never rally or get up again." Having got free from the rabble-rout, d'Alençon and the Count of Flanders skirted the English archers and fell upon the men-at-arms of the prince's battalia, where they fought fiercely for some time. The second division of the English moved to the support of the prince. The King of France was eager to support d'Alençon, but he could not penetrate a hedge of English archers which formed in his front. But without the king's forces, d'Alençon, with whom fought French, Germans, Bohemians, and Savoyards, seemed to all eyes more than a match for the prince. At a moment when the conflict seemed doubtful, the Earl of Warwick sent to request a reinforcement from the reserve. Edward, who had watched the battle from a windmill on the summit of the hill, and who did not put on his helmet the whole day, asked the knight whether his son was killed, or wounded, or thrown to the ground? The knight replied, "No, Sire, please God, but he is hard beset." "Then," said the king, "return to those who sent you, and tell them that they shall have no help from me. Let the boy win his spurs; for I am resolved, if it please God, that this day be his, and that the honour of it be given all to him and to those to whose care I have intrusted him." When Sir Thomas Norwich reported this message, they were all greatly encouraged, and repented of having ever sent him. Soon after this, d'Alençon was killed, and his battalions were scattered. The King of France made several brilliant charges, but he was repulsed each time with great loss: his horse was killed under him by an English arrow, and the best of his friends had fallen around him. Night now set in, but not before he had lost the battle. At the hour of Vespers he had not more than sixty men about him of all sorts. John of Hainault now laid hold of his bridle-rein and led him away by force, for he had entreated him to retire before this, but in vain. The king rode away till he came to the castle of La Broye, where he found the gates shut, for it was dark night. He sum-

moned the châtelain, who came upon the battlements and asked who called at such an hour. The king answered, "Open, open, châtelain, it is the fortune of France!" The governor knew the king's voice, descended, opened the gates, and let down the bridge. The king and his company entered the castle, but he had with him only five barons.*

Such was the memorable battle of Crecy: it was fought on Saturday, the 26th day of August, 1346. On the Sunday morning a fog arose so that the English could scarcely see the length of half an acre before them. The king sent out a detachment of five hundred lances and two thousand archers to reconnoitre. This detachment soon found themselves in the midst of a body of militia from Beauvais and Rouen, who, wholly ignorant of what had happened, had marched all night to overtake the French army. These men took the English for French, and hastened to join them. Before they found out their mistake, the English fell upon them and slew them without mercy. Soon after, the same party took a different road, and fell in with a fresh force, under the Archbishop of Rouen and the Grand Prior of France, who were also ignorant of the defeat of the French, for they had heard that the king would not fight till the Sunday. Here began a fresh battle, for those two spiritual lords were well provided with stout men-at-arms. They could not, however, stand against the English: the two lords were killed, and only a few of their men escaped by flight. In the course of the morning the English found many Frenchmen, who had lost their road the preceding evening. All these were put to the sword; and of foot soldiers sent from the municipalities, cities, and good towns of France, there were slain this Sunday morning more than four times as many as in the great battle of Saturday. When this destructive detachment returned to head-quarters, King Edward sent to examine the dead, and learn what French lords had fallen. The lords Cobham and Stafford were charged with this duty, and they

* Froissart.

took with them three heralds to recognise the arms, and two secretaries to write down the names. They remained all that day in the fields, returning as the king was sitting down to supper, when they reported that they had found the bodies of eleven princes, eighty bannerets, twelve hundred knights, and about thirty thousand common men.

On Monday morning the King of England marched off to the north, keeping near the coast, and passing through Montreuil-sur-mer.

On Thursday, the 31st of August, five days after the great battle of Crecy, Edward sate down before Calais and began his famous siege of that place,—a siege, or rather a blockade, which lasted nearly a year, and which was enlivened by many brilliant feats of arms. An immediate consequence of his victory at Crecy was the withdrawing of the Duke of Normandy from Guienne, where the Earl of Derby was almost reduced to extremities notwithstanding the gallant assistance of Sir Walter Manny, who had removed a small body from Brittany to Gascony.

While Edward was occupied at Calais, Philip resorted to measures which he hoped would create such a confusion in England as to oblige his immediate return thither. Ever since his guest David Bruce had been reseated on the throne, he had kept up an active correspondence with Scotland. His communications were now more frequent, and, in the month of September, King David himself marched from Perth at the head of three thousand regular cavalry and about thirty thousand others, mounted on galloways. It is said that he was confident of success, seeing that nearly the whole chivalry of England was absent. He rode into Cumberland, took the peel or castle of Liddel on the 2nd of October, and then marched into the bishopric of Durham. While he lay at Bear-park, near the city of Durham, the English assembled an army in Auckland Park. The Scots were ignorant of all the movements of the English: Douglas, the famous knight of Liddesdale, who had scoured the country as far as Ferry Hill, was intercepted on his return by the

English at Sunderland Bridge. He cut his way through them, but lost five hundred of his best men. David, though taken by surprise, immediately formed his troops, and a decisive battle was fought at Nevil's Cross. The English counted among their forces three thousand archers, and these men as usual decided the affair. David, after being twice wounded, was forcibly made prisoner by one Copland, a gentleman of Northumberland. Three earls and forty-nine barons and knights shared the fate of the king. The Earl of Monteith, who had accepted office under Edward, and the Earl of Fife, who had done homage to Edward Baliol, were condemned as traitors without any form of trial, by the king in council at Calais. Monteith was executed, but Fife was reprieved on account of his relationship, his mother having been niece to Edward I. King David was soon carried to London and safely lodged in the Tower.*

In the meantime Edward's ally, the Countess of Montfort, continued to defend the inheritance of her infant son, being well supported by an English force of one thousand men-at-arms and eight thousand foot, under the command of Sir Thomas Dagworth. On the night of the 18th of June, 1347, while her bitter enemy, Charles de Blois, was lying before Roche-Derrien, which he was besieging with fifteen thousand men, he was suddenly attacked by the English. In the confusion of a nocturnal battle, Sir Thomas was twice taken prisoner, and twice released by his brave followers. A sortie from the garrison finished this affair—the French were thoroughly beaten and dispersed; Charles de Blois was taken prisoner, and sent over to England, to add another royal captive to those already in Edward's power.

Edward, meanwhile, pressed the blockade of Calais. As it was a place of incredible strength, he wisely resolved not to throw away the lives of his soldiers in assaults, but to reduce it by famine. He girded it on the land side by intrenchments, and he built so many wooden houses for the accommodation of his troops, that his en-

* Froissart.—Knyght.—Rymer.

campment looked like a second town growing round the first: the old French writers, indeed, call it *La Ville de Bois*. At the same time his fleet blockaded the harbour, and cut off all communication by sea. John de Vienne, the governor of Calais, could not mistake Edward's plan, and, to save his provisions, he determined to rid himself of such as are called, in the merciless language of war, "useless mouths." Seventeen hundred poor people, of both sexes and of all ages, were turned out of the town and driven towards the English lines. Edward gave them all a good dinner, and then dismissed them into the interior of the country, even presenting them with a little money to supply their immediate wants. As provisions waxed low the governor made a fresh search for "useless mouths," and five hundred more of the inhabitants were thrust out of the town: but this time Edward was not so merciful, and all of them are said to have perished miserably between his lines and the town walls, as the governor would not re-admit them. A French fleet, attempting to relieve the place, was met by the Earl of Oxford, and carried to England. After this the hopes of the garrison began to fail them, and they wrote to King Philip that they had eaten their horses, their dogs, and all the unclean animals they could procure, and that nothing was left for them but to eat one another. This letter was intercepted by the English; but Philip knew the straits to which they were reduced, and resolved to make a great effort to save this important place. The "Oriflamme," the sacred banner of France, which was not to be used except against infidels, was unfurled; the vassals of the crown were summoned from all parts; and, in the month of July, Philip marched towards Calais. That town, however, was only approachable by two roads—the one along the sea-shore, the other over bogs and marshes; and Edward guarded both—the one with his ships and boats, which were crowded with archers; the other by means of towers, fortified bridges, and a great force of men-at-arms and archers, under the command of the brave Earl of Derby, who, as well as Sir Walter Manny, had come from Gascony for this great enterprise.

Philip was not bold enough to attempt either passage; and after a fruitless attempt at negotiation, and an idle challenge, he withdrew his army and left Calais to its fate. When the faithful garrison had witnessed his departure, they hung out the flag of England, and asked to capitulate. Edward, enraged at their obstinate resistance, refused them any terms, saying that he would have an unconditional surrender. Sir Walter Manny, and many barons who were then present, pleaded in favour of the men of Calais. "I will not be alone against you all," said the king. "Sir Walter, you will tell the captain that six of the notable burgesses must come forth naked in their shirts, bare-legged, with halters round their necks, and the keys of the town and castle in their hands. On these I will do my will, and the rest I will take to my mercy." When Sir Walter Manny reported this hard condition to John de Vienne, that governor went to the market-place and ordered the church bells to be rung: the people —men, women, and children—repaired to the spot, and, when they had heard Edward's message, they all wept piteously, and were incapable of forming any resolution. Things were in this state when the richest burgess of the town, who was called Messire Eustace de St. Pierre, rose up and said before them all—"Gentlemen, great and little, it were a great pity to let these people perish; —I will be the first to offer up my life to save theirs." After him another notable burgess, a very honest man, and of great business, rose and said that he would accompany his compeer Messire Eustace; and this one was named Messire Jehan d'Aire. After him rose up Jaques de Wisant, who was very rich in goods and lands, and said that he would accompany his two cousins, as did Peter Wisant, his brother: then the fifth and the sixth offered themselves, which completed the number the king demanded. The governor, John de Vienne, mounted a small hackney, for his wounds prevented him from walking, and conducted them to the gate. The English barriers were opened, and the six were admitted to the presence of Edward, before whom they prostrated themselves, and presenting the keys, begged for mercy. All

the barons, knights, and others who were there present, shed tears of pity, but the king eyed them very spitefully, for much did he hate the people of Calais; and then he commanded that their heads should be struck off. Every Englishman entreated him to be more merciful, but he would not hear them. Then Sir Walter Manny said, "Ha! gentle sire, let me beseech you to restrain your wrath! You are renowned for nobleness of soul —do not tarnish your reputation by such an act as this. These worthy men have, of their own free will, nobly put themselves at your mercy, in order to save their fellow-citizens." Upon this the king made a grimace, and said, "Let the headsman be summoned." But the Queen of England, who was far advanced in her pregnancy, fell on her knees, and, with tears, said, "Ah! gentle sire! since I have crossed the sea with great danger, I have never asked you anything: now I humbly pray, for the sake of the son of the Holy Mary and your love of me, that you will have mercy on these six men." The king looked at her, and was silent awhile: then he said, "Dame, I wish you had been somewhere else; but I cannot refuse you—I put them at your disposal." Philippa caused the halters to be taken from their necks, gave them proper clothes and a good dinner, and then dismissed them with a present of six nobles each.*

On the following day, August 4, 1347, the king and queen rode towards the town, which they entered to the sound of trumpets, drums, and all kinds of warlike instruments. They remained there until the queen was delivered of a daughter, who was called Margaret of Calais; and after that they returned to England, Edward having agreed to a truce with Philip.

On the 14th of January, 1348, he asked the advice of his parliament touching the prosecution of the war with France. The commons, suspecting that this was but a prelude to the demand of a subsidy, declined giving any answer. When the parliament met again, on the 17th of March, the king told them that the French

* Froissart.

were making mighty preparation to invade England, and he demanded an aid on that account. In real truth there was no danger whatever; but, after bitter complaints of taxation, and consequent poverty, three fifteenths were voted to be levied in three years. In the course of the following year he commanded in a naval battle against the Spaniards belonging to the ports of the Bay of Biscay, who had given him many causes of discontent by joining the French and by plundering his trading vessels. The battle was fought within sight of the hills behind Winchelsea, whence the queen's servants watched it with an anxious eye. About this time Philip of France died, and was succeeded by his son, the Duke of Normandy, now John I. This new king gladly consented to prolong the truce, which, however, was but indifferently observed, the English and French frequently fighting at sea, in Brittany, and in the south of France.

As if in mockery of the petty carnage of men, who, doing their most, could only sacrifice a few thousand lives at a time, and on a given spot, the plague now invaded Europe, destroying its hundreds of thousands, and depopulating hundreds of towns and cities at one and the same time. From the heart of China, this pestilence, sweeping across the desert of Cobi and the wilds of Tartary, found its way through the Levant, Egypt, Greece, Italy, Germany, France, and at last embraced the western coast of England, whence it soon spread all over the land. It appeared in London in November, 1348, and there committed the most frightful ravages

In part probably from a desire to reduce the Scots, who maintained their independence in spite of the captivity of their king, he several times made offers of peace to John of France on condition of renouncing his pretensions to the French crown in exchange for the absolute sovereignty of Guienne, Calais, and the other lands which had been held as fiefs by the former kings of England. The pride of the French court, however, revolted at this notion; and after the king had committed his honour, and promised, at the congress of Guisnes, to

accede to Edward's proposition, they drove him into a most unfortunate war.*

In 1355 Prince Edward prosecuted a successful campaign in the south of France. A simultaneous movement made by his father in the north of France proved a failure; for King John would not fight, and Edward was obliged to turn back upon Calais through want of provisions; and there he was amused by a sort of challenge to a general battle, to take place some day or other, till the Scots retook their town of Berwick, and rushed across the borders in hopes of retrieving the honour they had lost at Nevil's Cross. At this news Edward hurried to meet his parliament.

It was the middle of January, 1356, before Edward could appear at Berwick; but, at his approach, as the Scots had only got possession of the town, and not of the castle, they withdrew. Edward was now fully resolved to put an end to the interruptions which the Scottish wars had so frequently offered to his wars in France. His army was immense, and composed in great part of tried soldiers. As if nations were to be bought and sold, and made over by sheets of parchment, he purchased, at Roxburgh, on the 20th of January, all Edward Baliol's rights to the Scottish throne for 5000 marks, and a yearly annuity of 2000*l.*—a vast deal more than they were worth. With these parchments in his chest, the King of England marched through the Lothians, burnt Haddington and Edinburgh, and wasted the neighbouring country. But here again he was compelled to retreat, by want of provisions: the Scots, who could not meet him in the field, harassed his retiring forces, and inflicted a dreadful vengeance on the rear, and on all stragglers, for the horrible devastations they had committed. From this time Edward Baliol drops out of notice, and he died a childless and a childish old man in the year 1363.

Edward neither renewed the war in Scotland, nor reinforced his son in France; for the Black Prince,† as late

* Rymer.—Mezeray.

† It appears to be now that the younger Edward was first called the "Black Prince," from the colour of his armour,

as July in the following year, took the field with only twelve or fourteen thousand men, few of whom were English, except a body of archers. The prince, however, took a good many towns and penetrated into Berri, in the very heart of France. The King of France crossing the Loire, at Blois, made for the city of Poictiers. Prince Edward, ignorant of John's march, turned to the south-west, and marched also for Poictiers. On the 17th of September the English van came unexpectedly upon the rear of the great French army at a village within two short leagues of Poictiers; and Prince Edward's scouts soon after discovered that the whole country swarmed with the enemy, and that his retreat towards Gascony was cut off. "God help us!" said the Black Prince; "we must now consider how we can best fight them." On the following morning, Sunday, the 18th of September, John drew out his host in order of battle: he had, it is said, sixty thousand horse, besides foot; while the whole force of the Black Prince, horse and foot, did not now exceed ten thousand men. But Edward had chosen a most admirable position, and the issue of this battle, indeed, depended on his "military eye" and on "the sinewy arms of the English bowmen."* When the battle was about joining, a legate of the pope, the Cardinal Talleyrand, arrived on the field, and implored the French king to avoid the carnage which must inevitably ensue. John reluctantly consented to let the cardinal-legate go to the English camp, and represent to the English prince the great danger in which he stood. "Save my honour," said the Black Prince, "and the honour of my army, and I will listen to any reasonable terms." The cardinal answered, "Fair son, you say well." If this prince of the church failed, it was no fault of his; for all that Sunday he rode from one army to the other, exerting himself to the utmost to procure a truce. The prince offered to restore all the towns and castles which he had taken in this expedition, to give up all his prisoners without ran-

which, says the Père d'Orleans, "gave eclat to the fairness of his complexion, and a relief to his *bonne mine*."

* Sir J. Mackintosh.

som, and to swear that he would not, for the next seven years, bear arms against the King of France. But John, too confident in his superiority of numbers, would not agree to these terms, and, in the end, he sent, as his ultimatum, that the prince and a hundred of his best knights must surrender themselves prisoners. All Sunday was spent in these negotiations. The prince's little army were but badly off for provisions and forage; but, during the day, they dug some ditches, and threw up some banks round their strong position, which could only be approached by one narrow lane. They also arranged their baggage-waggons so as to form a rampart or barricade, as had been done at Crecy. On the following morning, Monday, September 19, the trumpets sounded at earliest dawn, and the French again formed in order of battle. Soon a mass of French cavalry charged along the lane to force Edward's position, but such a flight of arrows came from the hedges, that they were soon brought to a pause, and at last were compelled to turn and flee, leaving the lane choked up with their dead and wounded and their fallen horses. Of the two marshals of France who led this attack, Arnold d'Andreghen was wounded and taken prisoner; and Clermont, the other, was killed by the stout bowmen of England. After this success, Edward became the assailant. Six hundred English bowmen making a circuit, suddenly showed their green jackets and white bows on the flank and rear of John's second division. "To say the truth," quoth Froissart, "these English archers were of infinite service to their army, for they shot so thickly and so well that the French did not know which way to turn themselves." The second division scarcely waited to feel the points of their arrows. Eight hundred lances were detached to escort the French princes from this scene of danger, and presently after the whole division dispersed in shameful disorder. At this sight the knights and men-at-arms under the Black Prince, who had as yet done nothing but look on, mounted their horses. As soon as they were mounted, Sir John Chandos said to the prince, "Sire, ride forward, the day is yours! Let us address

ourselves to our adversary, the King of France. Well I know that his valiancy will not permit him to flee, and he shall remain with us, please God and St. George!" Then the prince said to his standard-bearer, "Advance banners, in the name of God and St. George!" They went through the lane,—charged across the open moor where the French had formed their battalia,—and the shock was dreadful. The constable of France stood firm with many squadrons of horse, his knights and squires shouting, "Mountjoy, St. Denis!" but man and horse went to the ground, and the duke was slain, with most of his knights. The Black Prince then charged a body of German cavalry, who were soon put to flight. A strong body of reserve, under the command of the Duke of Orleans, fled without striking a blow. But Chandos was not mistaken as to the personal bravery of John; that king led up a division on foot, and fought desperately with a battle-axe; and when nearly all had forsaken him, his youngest son Philip, a boy of sixteen, fought by his side. John received two wounds in the face, and was beaten to the ground; but he rose and still strove to defend himself, while the English and Gascons pressed upon him, crying, "Surrender, or you are a dead man!" They would have killed him, but a young knight from St. Omer, named Sir Denis, burst through the crowd and said to the king in good French, "Sire, surrender!" The king said, "To whom shall I surrender? Where is my cousin, the Prince of Wales?" "He is not here," replied Sir Denis; "but surrender to me and I will conduct you to him." "But who are you?" said the king. "Denis de Morbecque," he answered, "a knight of Artois; but I serve the King of England because I cannot belong to France, having forfeited all I had there."* King John then gave him his right-hand glove, and said, "I surrender to you." There was much crowding and struggling round about the king, for every one was eager to say—"I took him." At last John was removed out of a situation of great danger by the Earl of Warwick

* Sir Denis, it appears, had been banished from France for killing a man in an affray.

and the Lord Cobham, who saluted him with profound respect, and conducted him, with his youngest son Philip, to the Prince of Wales.*

Edward received his illustrious captive with the greatest modesty and respect, treating him with all the courtesy of the most perfect chivalry. He invited him to supper, waited on him at table as his superior in age and dignity, soothed his grief, and praised his valour. The day after this victory, Edward continued his march. He passed through Poictou and Saintonge without meeting with any resistance, for the French nowhere rallied to rescue their king, and, coming to Blaye, he crossed the Garonne, and presently came to the good city of Bordeaux. He then concluded a truce for two years with the Dauphin Charles, and in the spring he returned to England, taking King John and Prince Philip with him. Their entrance into London (24th April, 1357) was magnificent.

Edward soon showed an inclination to renounce his French scheme, and to follow up the Scottish project by other means than those of conquest. As early as the year 1351 he had opened negotiations with the Scots for the liberation of their king, but the ransom he then fixed was extravagantly high; in 1354 these negotiations were renewed, and the Scots consented to pay ninety thousand marks in nine years; but their allies, the French, induced them to depart from this agreement, and, leaving their king a prisoner, they prepared to invade England. Edward's victory over their allies at Poictiers made the Scots willing to treat again, and the English king, in spite of those successes, was not in a condition to renew a war in the north. On the 3rd of October, 1357, a treaty was concluded, the Scots agreeing to pay one hundred thousand marks in ten years, and to give hostages as security for such payments; and in the month of November, David, after a captivity of eleven years, recovered his liberty and returned to

* Froissart.

Scotland.* It was soon made to appear that his long residence in England and his intimate association with Edward had produced their effect on the weak mind of David Bruce, and that Edward, in discontinuing the struggle by arms, had not renounced his ambitious hopes. In 1362, David's wife died childless, and, in a parliament held at Scone in the following year, David coolly proposed that they should choose Lionel, duke of Cambridge, Edward's third son, to fill the throne in the event of his dying without issue. At this time the next heir was the Stewart of Scotland, the son of David's eldest sister. David hated his nephew, and this feeling may have had a great share in influencing him to make this strange proposal. But the parliament of Scotland rejected the project with indignation. The death of Edward Baliol without children, which happened soon after this conference, made David less careful in his proceedings: he went to London and agreed, in a secret conference with Edward, that, in default of the King of Scots and his issue male, the King of England for the time being should succeed to the throne of Scotland. The king of England took advantage of the debt owing to him for David's ransom to trouble and insult the Scots on many occasions, and the intrigues of his agents added to the unhappiness of that people. When Edward was engaged abroad, the Scots breathed more freely. King David died in February, 1371, and his project died with him: his nephew, the Stewart of Scotland, ascended the throne without opposition, taking the title of Robert II.; and though Edward at one moment seemed inclined to undertake another Scottish war, old age, the loss of his son the Black Prince, and other misfortunes, prevented his so doing. Of all his conquests in Scotland, none were permanent except that of the town of Berwick. The house of Stewart held the independent crown of Scotland for two hundred and thirty-two years, and then James VI. succeeded by inheritance to the throne of England, thus laying a better foundation for

* Rymer.—Hailes.

the happy union between the two countries than could ever have been effected by conquest. Edward's proceedings with his other kingly captive may be briefly related. Two legates of the pope followed John and the Prince of Wales to London, where they laboured to promote an amicable arrangement between England and France. Edward readily consented to waive his absurd claim to the French crown, and to liberate John, on condition of receiving an enormous ransom, and the restoration of Normandy, of the heritage of Eleanor of Aquitaine, and of all the provinces which had belonged to Henry II., to be held in separate sovereignty without any feudal dependance on the French king.* John hesitated and tried to gain time, but time only increased the wretchedness and weakness of his kingdom, which fell into a frightful state of anarchy. Paris, nearly all the provinces of France, were converted into human shambles by factions and insurrections. The peasants, or serfs, rose against their lords, plundered and burnt their castles, and massacred the nobles, men, women, and children, wherever they could find them. This horrible Jacquerie,† which was but faintly imitated in England during the next reign (by Wat Tyler and Jack Straw), lasted the greater part of the years 1357 and 1358, and was not suppressed without slaughter equally atrocious on the part of the government. This dreadful state of things conquered the pride of John, and he signed the treaty of peace as dictated by Edward; but the French nation, divided as it was, unanimously rejected it. Edward, enraged at what he termed the bad faith of the enemy, passed over to France in the autumn of 1359 with an army more numerous than any which he had hitherto employed on the Continent. From his convenient landing-place at Calais, he poured his irresistible forces through Artois and Picardy, and laid siege to Rheims, with the intention, it is said, of being crowned

* Rymer.

† So called from Jacques Bon-homme, or James Goodman, a name applied in derision to the French peasantry.

King of France in that city. But the winter season and the strength of the place baffled his efforts: after losing seven or eight weeks, he raised the siege, and fell upon Burgundy. The duke was forced to pay fifty thousand marks, and to engage to remain neutral. From Burgundy Edward marched upon Paris, and, on the last day of March, 1360, the English encamped in front of that capital. He, however, was not strong enough to besiege Paris; the Dauphin wisely declined a challenge to come out and fight; and in the month of April, a want of provisions compelled Edward to lead his army towards Brittany. His route was soon covered by men and horses, who died from want or dropped from the severe fatigues they had undergone in this winter campaign. Edward's heart was touched; but it was a terrific tempest of thunder, lighting, wind, hail, and rain, which he encountered near Chartres, and which reminded him of the day of judgment, that completely subdued his resolution.*

An armistice was arranged, and, on the 8th of May, 1360, the great peace was concluded by the treaty of Bretigny. "The King of England, Lord of Ireland and of Aquitaine," as Edward was now content to style himself, renounced his pretensions to the crown of France, and his claim to Normandy, Anjou, and Maine, and some other territories that had belonged to his ancestors: he restored all the conquests made by himself and his son, with the exception of Calais and Guisnes, and reserved to himself Guienne and Poictou, with their dependencies Saintonge, Agenois, the Limousin, Perigord, Thouars, and other districts in the south, and the county of Ponthieu in the north-west, the inheritance of his mother. The Dauphin of France† agreed that Edward and his heirs for ever should have full and free sovereignty of the countries ceded by this

* Froissart.—Knyght.—Rymer.

† John, as a prisoner, was at first no party to the compact, but when he went to Calais, on parole, he was considered as a free agent.

treaty; that three million crowns of gold should be paid in six years as John's ransom, and that sixteen of the prisoners taken at Poictiers, twenty-five French barons, and forty-two burghers chosen in the richest cities of France, should be constituted hostages for the faithful fulfilment of the articles. In July, John was sent over to Calais. Three months were spent in explanations and attempts at mutual deception, and then this treaty was ratified at Calais on the condition that the really important clauses should remain in suspense and not be executed till the Feast of the Assumption, or that of St. Andrew, in the following year.* On the 24th of October, 1360, there was a solemn interchange of oaths in the church of St. Nicholas at Calais. On the following day King John was set at liberty.

John, with all his faults and vices, was sensitive on the point of honour, and a scrupulous observer of his word, but the impoverished condition of his country, and the decided and violent opposition of his sons and great nobles, prevented his fulfilling any of the important parts of the treaty. It is not so written in the annals of France, but it appears to us pretty evident, that the uncomfortable life he led in his own dominions had a good deal to do with what followed. The Duke of Anjou dishonourably broke his parole, and, flying from Calais, where he was living as one of the hostages, repaired to Paris. His father the king was much affected by this breach of honour, and he felt that part of his own conduct since his return required explanation. It is said that he also hoped to obtain some modification of the treaty of Bretigny, and to speak with Edward about a new crusade. The French courtiers laughed at his scruples, but, to their astonishment, he went over to London, where Edward received him with every token of affection. It was then said, in France, that it was his violent love for an English lady, and not his honour, that induced him to put himself again in the power of his

* That is, the 15th of August or the 30th of November, 1361.

enemy. John quietly took up his old quarters in the Savoy; but soon after his arrival, and before any business was transacted, he fell dangerously ill. He died at London, in the month of April, 1364.*

The Dauphin, now Charles V., held the treaty of Bretigny in the same state of suspense, and complained bitterly of the ravages committed in his dominions by the "companies of adventure" which had been in the service of the Black Prince. The truth was, that many of these lawless bands had been in the pay of France, so that Edward was not accountable for the whole of the mischief. The "free companions," as they called themselves, were mercenaries, vagabonds, and adventurers, from nearly every country in Europe, who sold their services to the best payers. When peace was concluded between the sovereigns, they associated together, and carried on a war on their own account. They defeated a royal army led against them by John de Bourbon, who was mortally wounded in that action. They made Charles tremble in Paris, and the pope at Avignon. Edward engaged to clear the country of them, but Charles had no wish to see another English army in his territory. Events in Spain afforded opportunities of getting rid of the marauders.

Pedro IV., called the "Cruel," was then legitimate king of Castile, but his atrocities provoked an insurrection. He was, however, strong enough to defeat the insurgents, who fled for refuge to the king of Arragon. The latter sovereign was unable to resist the arms of the tyrant, who made war upon him; and then the Castilian exiles, among whom were two illegitimate half-brothers of Pedro,—Enrique, count of Trastamara, and Tello, count of Biscay,—fled into France. Among his many recent murders, Pedro the Cruel had poisoned his wife, a French princess. It occurred to Enrique of Trastamara, or probably it was suggested to him by the French court, that he might collect among the veteran "companies" such a force as would give him a decided supe-

* Rymer.—Froissart.—Continuator of Nangis.—Villaret.

riority over his half-brother Pedro. The king of France gave money; the pope gave more; and thirty thousand of the adventurers put themselves under the command of the celebrated warrior Duguesclin and of Don Enrique, and, marching across the Pyrenees, drove the tyrant from his throne. Don Pedro, who had not even the satisfaction of fighting a battle in his defence, fled through Portugal to Coruña, where he embarked in the first ship he found, and sailed with his daughters for Bordeaux. The Black Prince was residing at Bordeaux, and there gave the tyrant a most friendly reception. His father took the same view; and it was soon determined to restore the fugitive king by force of arms. Charles of France at the same time took measures to support Don Enrique. The Black Prince had been married some time to a beautiful widow,—his second cousin, — Joan, Countess of Kent,* who had been familiarly and endearingly called "the Fair Maid of Kent;" but the arrival of Pedro's daughters was not without its effect; and the marriage of two of them to Edward's brothers, the Duke of Lancaster and the Earl of Cambridge, which took place a few years after, gave rise to the claim of an English prince to the throne of Castile. For the present the fair Spaniards remained at

* The history of this fair lady, the mother of the unfortunate Richard II., as of an elder brother (Edward) who died in infancy, is rather curious. She was daughter and heiress to the Earl of Kent, uncle to Edward III., who had been put to death at the beginning of the present reign, by Mortimer and Isabella. She was married when very young to Montacute, earl of Salisbury, from whom she was divorced; she then espoused Sir Thomas Holland, who assumed in her right the title of Earl of Kent, and was summoned to parliament as such. By this second husband she had two sons,—Thomas Holland, who inherited the honours of his father, and John Holland, who was afterwards created Earl of Huntingdon and Duke of Exeter. They will both appear in the sequel—John as the perpetrator of a savage murder. Her second husband had scarcely been dead three months when she married the Black Prince.

the gay and splendid court of Bordeaux, while their father and the Black Prince and the Duke of Lancaster raised their banners of war. Among the adventurers who had taken service under Don Enrique, there were several English captains; and such was Prince Edward's popularity among the companions generally, that as soon as they knew what was preparing, twelve thousand men abandoned their new master, and returned with all speed to join Edward in Guienne. As Pedro's promises were most liberal, and the fame of Edward so prevalent, they soon marched with thirty thousand men. The King of Navarre, who was master of that pass of the Pyrenees, was bought over; and in the midst of winter, snow-storms, and tempests, the Black Prince led his army in safety through Roncesvalles.

On the 3rd of April, 1367, Don Enrique met the invaders in the open plains between Navarete and Najara, with an army which is represented as being three times as numerous as that of Prince Henry and Don Pedro. The battle was begun by the young Duke of Lancaster, who was emulous of the military fame of his brother Edward. In the end the Black Prince gained a complete victory; Enrique fled, and Don Pedro re-ascended the throne.* Misfortune had not taught him mercy; Pedro wanted to massacre all his prisoners, but this Prince Edward prevented. After being half-starved in the country he had won for another, and contracting heavy debts and a malady from which he never recovered, Edward was obliged to lead his army with all haste back to Guienne. Pedro had soon cause to deplore his departure: in a little more than a year his bastard half-brother returned to Castile, and defeated him in battle. A conference was arranged, but, as soon as the two brothers met, they flew at each other with the fury of wild beasts, and in the struggle Don Enrique killed Pedro with his dagger. The bastard, who was still supported by Charles of France, again took possession of the throne.†

* Froissart.

† Froissart.—Walsing.—Mariana.

The wary Charles had been recovering strength while the English were losing it; he was now almost ready for an open war, and he bound Enrique by treaty to assist him as soon as he should declare it. At the same time he conciliated the King of Navarre, and entered into a secret understanding with the disaffected lords, vassals of the Black Prince, whose lands lay near the Pyrenees. For seven years the treaty of Bretigny had been little more than a dead letter: John's ransom had never been paid; many of the hostages, breaking their parole, had returned to France; some of the territory stipulated had never been ceded; the sovereign title to the whole had been withheld by Charles, who had watched with a sharp eye the decaying vigour of King Edward, now an old man, and the shattered health of the Black Prince, who, melancholy and spirit-broken, was evidently sinking to a premature grave. The expedition for Don Pedro proved a curse in more ways than one,—it so embarrassed the prince that he was obliged to impose additional taxes upon his subjects of Guienne, in order to obtain the means of paying his army. Upon this the Count of Armagnac, and other Gascon lords, already in the interest of France, went to Paris, and appealed to the King of France, as the lord paramount. Charles had waited patiently for years, but he now thought that circumstances, and, above all, the deplorable state of the prince's health, would allow him to declare himself. He summoned Edward, as Prince of Aquitaine and his vassal (which he was not since the treaty of Bretigny), to appear in his court at Paris. The prince replied that he would go, indeed, to Paris, but it should be at the head of sixty thousand men. His father, however, was less violent; and, lowering his claims, the elder Edward, setting aside some territory which had been included in the treaty of Bretigny, said he would content himself with the separate sovereignty of Guienne and Poictou. But Charles took this moderation as a certain proof of weakness, and, declaring the Prince of Aquitaine to be contumacious, he poured his troops into his territories.

Edward now re-assumed his title of King of France, and offered lands and honours in that kingdom to any soldier of fortune that could conquer them with his good sword. He sent reinforcements to the Black Prince in the south; and at the same time despatched his other brave son, the Duke of Lancaster, with a gallant army from Calais. The duke marched through the north-western provinces, but the French would not risk an engagement with him; and, while he laid waste the open country, Charles gradually extended his conquests in the south. The Black Prince was sick almost to death, but when he heard that the dukes of Anjou and Berri were marching against him from opposite points, he roused himself and took the field. The royal dukes had not heart to meet him,—they both retreated with precipitation; and, after garrisoning the places they had acquired, they disbanded their army. Limoges, the capital of the Limousin, had been betrayed to the dukes by the bishop and the inhabitants; and the prince was the more sensible to this treachery, as it was a place upon which he had conferred many honours and benefits. He swore, by the soul of his father, that he would have the town back again,—that he would not move or attend to any other thing until he got it,—and that, then, he would make the traitors pay dearly for their perfidy. He was now so ill that he could not mount his horse, but he caused himself to be carried on a litter from post to post. After a month's siege Limoges was breached and stormed. Men, women, and children threw themselves on their knees before the prince, crying "Mercy! Mercy!" but he would not hear them. They were all murdered,—upwards of three thousand. John de Villemur, Hugh de la Roche, and the other knights whom the dukes had thrown into Limoges, retreated to one of the squares, placed themselves with their backs to an old wall, and resolved to sell their lives dearly. The English knights, as soon as they saw them thus, dismounted, and attacked them on foot. The French fought with the courage of despair against very superior numbers. The prince, who came up in his litter, looked on with admiration at their

feats, and he became mild and merciful at the sight. Some of the French knights, looking at their swords, said, "We are yours—you have conquered—treat us according to the laws of arms." Edward relented; and, instead of being massacred, they were received as prisoners. But no mercy was shown to any of the meaner sort—the whole city of Limoges was ransacked, and then burnt to the ground.* The massacre of Limoges was the last military exploit of the Black Prince. Hoping that the air of his native country might benefit his ruined constitution, he returned to England, leaving the command in the south to his brother John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster.

Soon after his departure the Duke of Lancaster, having now married the Lady Constance, eldest daughter of Don Pedro, assumed in her right the arms and title of King of Castile and Leon,† an imprudent step, which complicated the difficulties of the English. In the month of June, 1372, when the Earl of Pembroke came off Rochelle with a fleet carrying reinforcements to the duke, he found a Spanish fleet, consisting of ships far larger than his own, and furnished with engines,—probably cannons,—lying between La Rochelle and the Isle of Rhé. Pembroke either could not or would not avoid a battle: he fought desperately the whole day, and renewed the unequal combat on the morrow; but at last, his ship was grappled by four Spanish ships at once, and boarded on every side: he was made prisoner, and not a single sail of his fleet escaped. Many of them went down with their flags flying; and a ship carrying the military chest, with 20,000*l.* in it, sank with the rest.‡ And from this time, one ill success followed another with amazing rapidity. Charles V., who not without reason

* The Bishop of Limoges, the real offender, escaped death through the management of the Duke of Lancaster.

† The daughters of Don Pedro were illegitimate; but after the death of their mother, the celebrated Maria Padilla, he took an oath that he had been married to her, and he declared her daughters his heirs.

‡ Froissart.

was called "the Wise," had determined not to hazard a general battle with the English. Sir Robert Knowles swept the whole of France from Calais to the walls of Paris, which he insulted; and the Duke of Lancaster marched through France from one end to the other without meeting any opposition; but they found all the important fortresses and great towns well guarded, and they both lost many men from want of provisions, while every straggler from their armies was cut to pieces. The Duke of Lancaster marched and counter-marched, but could never bring the French to a battle. He concluded a truce with the Duke of Anjou, and departed for England; but as soon as he had gone Charles broke the armistice.

A.D. 1374.—The pope had never ceased his endeavours to procure a lasting peace; his legates had followed the army of the Duke of Lancaster in all his last campaign, and other envoys were constantly about the court of Charles. When the French had gained almost all they could hope to get, and when Edward's confidence in his own resources was broken by long disappointment, the arrangement for a treaty was commenced at the town of Bruges. After months of negotiation, a truce was concluded for one year only; but this was subsequently renewed, and lasted till the death of Edward. At this time all that the English king retained of his continental dominions was Bordeaux, Bayonne, a few towns on the Dordogne, and his own important conquest of Calais, with a strip of territory round it.

On his return to England, the Black Prince embraced a course of popular opposition in parliament, and if he irritated his old father thereby, he had the good fortune to please the nation, whose idol he had ever been. But the state of his health obliged him to seek quiet and retirement, and then the Duke of Lancaster monopolized all the authority of government, for the king had become indolent and reckless, and, like other heroes in their old age, a slave to a young and beautiful woman. Philippa, Edward's excellent wife, had died seven years before, and the fortunes of her husband were overcast from the

day of her death. Alice Perrers, a married woman, whose wit is said to have equalled her beauty, and who had been a lady of the bedchamber to the queen, so captivated Edward that he could refuse her nothing, and was never happy except when he was in her company. Among other presents, he gave her the late queen's jewels, and these Alice was vain enough to show in public. She soon became an object of popular outcry.

But the nation lost all thoughts of Alice Perrers in the great event which now took place: the Black Prince died on Trinity Sunday, the 8th day of June, 1376. It will appear, from our narrative, that this extraordinary man, though generally both merciful and generous, was not wholly exempt from the vices and barbarity of his times; but it is clear, from the universal popularity which he enjoyed at home, and from the frequent praises extorted from his bitterest enemies abroad, that he had endearing qualities, and many virtues beside those of gallantry and courage, in which he was probably never surpassed by a mortal being. So entirely had the nation been accustomed to look up to him, that though the melancholy event had long been expected, his death seemed to toll the knell of the country's glory.

The nation seemed well inclined to transfer all their affection to Prince Edward's only surviving legitimate son, Richard of Bordeaux, who was only in his tenth year; and a few days after the funeral, Parliament petitioned the king to introduce the young prince among them, that he might receive the honours due to him as heir to the crown. The dislike of Prince Richard's uncle, the Duke of Lancaster, who was suspected of aiming at the throne, no doubt hastened this measure. With the full consent of the old king, the Archbishop of Canterbury presented the young prince to the two houses as "the fair and perfect image of his father," and the successor to all his rights. Lancaster, however, resumed all his former power; and as soon as the Black Prince was dead, the whole efficacy of the parliamentary opposition which he had directed ceased. Sir Peter de la Mare, the speaker of the Commons, was arrested, and

William of Wickham, the celebrated Bishop of Winchester, was deprived of his temporalities without trial, and dismissed the court. In the next parliament, which met on the 27th of January, 1377, the duke had a strong majority. Although forming a very weak minority, there still existed an opposition with spirit enough to speak and remonstrate; and while the Commons demanded, in right of the great charter, that Sir Peter de la Mare should be liberated or put upon his trial, the bishops demanded the same thing in behalf of their brother of Winchester. Wycliffe, a poor parish priest, the precursor of Huss, Luther, Calvin, and the great men who effected the Reformation, had long been preaching and writing against the abuses of the Catholic clergy, and his party, though small, already included some persons of the highest rank in England. It is generally stated that the Duke of Lancaster took up the cause of Wycliffe, who was lying under a dangerous prosecution, merely to spite the bench of bishops. On the day of trial, when the English reformer stood up to plead in the great church of St. Paul's, before Courtenay, Bishop of London, he was accompanied and supported by the duke, and by his friend, the Lord Percy, marshal of England. These two great laymen were so ardent, that a violent altercation ensued in the church between them and the bishop: Lancaster, it is said, even threatened to drag the prelate out of the church by the hair of his head. The Londoners hotly resented the insult offered to their bishop. On the next morning a mob broke open the Lord Marshal's house, and killed an unlucky priest whom they mistook for Earl Percy in disguise: they then proceeded to the Savoy, the duke's palace, and gutted it. The riot was so terrible that it interrupted the debates in Parliament; and one of the last audiences of the great Edward was given at Shene (now Richmond) to the lord mayor and aldermen of the city of London, who were brought there to submit themselves to the duke, and crave pardon for their grievous offence.

When parliament resumed business, they took into consideration the circumstance that the truce with France

was on the point of expiring; and to provide for a renewal of the war, which seemed probable, they granted an aid in the shape of a poll-tax—a disastrous precedent. In the month of February the king had completed the fiftieth year of his reign, and he published a general amnesty for all minor offences. This was Edward's last public act: he spent the remaining four months of his life between Eltham Palace and the beautiful manor of Shene. Decay had fallen alike on body and spirit. The ministers and courtiers crowded round the Duke of Lancaster or round Prince Richard and his mother: the old man was left alone with his mistress: and even she, it is said, after drawing his valuable ring from his finger, abandoned him in his dying moments. Edward died at Shene, on the 21st of June, 1377, in the sixty-fifth year of his life, and the fifty-first of his reign.*

* Walsing.—Rot. Parl.—Rym.—Stow.

Richard II., surnamed of Bordeaux.

A.D. 1377.—The funeral obsequies of the late king occupied some time, but on the 16th of July Richard was crowned in Westminster Abbey. The ceremony was unusually splendid, but the fatigue and excitement were too much for the royal boy, who, after being anointed and crowned, was so completely exhausted that they were obliged to carry him in a litter to his apartment. After some rest he was summoned to the great hall, where he created four earls and nine knights, and partook of a magnificent banquet, which was followed by a ball, minstrelsy, and other somewhat turbulent festivities of the time.* Considerable pains were taken to spoil this young king from the first; such adulation and prostrations had not been seen before in England; and if the bishops and courtiers did not preach to the boy the "divine right," they seem to have made a near approach to that doctrine; and they spoke gravely of the intuitive wisdom and of the heroism of a child not yet eleven years old. These men were indisputably answerable for much of the mischief that followed; but now the beauty of the young king's person, and the memory of his father, endeared him to his people, and a long time passed before they would think any ill of the son of their idol, the Black Prince. The Duke of Lancaster, the titular king of Castile, more popularly known under the name of "John of Gaunt,"† had long been suspected of the project of supplanting his nephew; but his unpopularity was great, and he yielded with tolerably good grace to the force of circumstances. As if on purpose to exclude the duke,

* Walsingham.—He gives an elaborate account of the coronation.

† He was so called from the town of Ghent or Gand (then pronounced Gaunt), the place of his birth.

no regular regency was appointed; but the morning after the coronation the prelates and barons chose, "in aid of the chancellor and treasurer," twelve permanent counsellors, among whom not one of the king's uncles was named. John of Gaunt withdrew to his castle of Kenilworth. But nothing could remove the popular belief that the duke aimed at the throne, and prophecies were afloat which probably helped to work their own fulfilment a few years later, when his son, Henry of Bolingbroke, dethroned his cousin Richard.

The French were not slow in trying to take the usual advantage of a minority. The truce expired before the death of Edward, and Charles refused to prolong it. In close union with Henry of Trastamara, who was provoked by the Duke of Lancaster continuing to assume the title of King of Castile, he got together a formidable fleet, and insulted and plundered the English coast before Richard had been a month on the throne. A parliament was assembled while the impression of these injuries was fresh; and in order to obtain supplies of money (the treasury being exhausted) it was stated that the realm was in greater danger than it had ever been. Supplies were voted, and, by borrowing greater sums of the merchants, government was enabled to put to sea a considerable fleet under the command of the Earl of Buckingham, one of the Duke of Lancaster's brothers. Buckingham met with little success, and his failure, however unfairly, added to the unpopularity of the Lancastrian party.

A.D. 1378.—John of Gaunt, however, obtained the command of the fleet, with nearly all the money which had been voted. He detached a squadron under the Earls of Arundel and Salisbury, who, in crossing the Channel, fell in with a Spanish fleet, and suffered considerable loss. The two earls, however, succeeded in their main object, and took possession of the town and port of Cherbourg, on the coast of Normandy, which were ceded to England by the King of Navarre, who was again engaged in a war with the French king, and who was glad to purchase the assistance of England at any price. In the month of July the duke sailed with the great fleet for

the coast of Brittany, where the conquests of the French had reduced another ally of England almost to despair. The Duke of Brittany, son of the heroic Countess of Montfort, ceded to the English the important town and harbour of Brest, which Lancaster secured with a good garrison. The duke then invested St. Malo, but the Constable Dugueselin marched with a very superior force to the relief of that place, and compelled the duke to return to his ships: the great fleet then came home. A striking circumstance which had occurred did not tend to brighten the duke's laurels. The Scots, receiving their impulse from France, renewed the war, surprised the castle of Berwick, made incursions into the northern counties, and equipped a number of ships to cruize against the English. Berwick was recovered soon after by the Earl of Northumberland; but one John Mercer, who had got together certain sail of Scots, French, and Spaniards, came to Scarborough, and made prize of every ship in that port. Upon learning the injuries done, and the still greater damage apprehended from these sea-rovers, John Philpot—"that worshipful citizen of London"—lamenting the negligence of government, equipped a small fleet at his own expense, and without waiting for any commission from the government, went in pursuit of Mercer. After a fierce battle, the doughty alderman took the Scot prisoner, captured fifteen Spanish ships, and recovered all the vessels which had been taken at Scarborough. On his return, Philpot was received in triumph by his fellow-citizens; but he was harshly handled by the council of government for the unlawfulness of acting as he had done without authority, he being but a private man.*

In the month of October, the parliament met at Gloucester, and in a very bad humour: the government wanted money—the commons a reform of abuses. The disputes ended in a compromise—the commons being allowed to inspect the accounts of the treasurers, which was granted

* Trussell, Contin. of Daniel's Hist.—Southey, Nav. Hist. —Walsing.

as a matter of favour, but not of right, nor were they to consider it as a precedent: they also obtained copies of the papers, showing how the moneys they had voted had been raised; but this also was granted as if proceeding from the king's good pleasure. In the end, they granted a new aid by laying additional duties on wool, wool-fells, hides, leather, and other merchandize. John de Montfort, the Duke of Brittany, had been driven to seek refuge in England, and the French king annexed his dominions to the crown of France. This premature measure reconciled all the factions in the country; and John was recalled by the unanimous voice of the Bretons. Leaving his wife, an aunt of King Richard,* in England, he embarked with one hundred knights and men-at-arms, and two hundred archers. Charles instantly prepared to send a French army into Brittany, and then the duke implored the assistance of a force from England. A considerable army was raised, and sent to his relief, under the command of the Earl of Buckingham. Buckingham landed at Calais; and from Calais he marched to Artois, Picardy, Champagne, and other inland provinces of France, plundering and devastating the open country. His progress was watched by far superior forces, but, firm to the system which the cautious Charles had adopted, the French would not risk a battle, and the English, after a circuitous march, reached the frontiers of Brittany without meeting any resistance. But the Earl of Buckingham was scarcely there when the King of France died, and the Bretons, who knew that a boy was to ascend the throne, thinking that they should no longer stand in need of their assistance, began to entertain as much jealousy and hatred of the English as they had hitherto done of the French. De Montfort was unable to resist the wishes of his subjects, and as the uncles of the young King Charles VI., who formed the regency, were willing to treat and to recognise his restoration, he concluded a peace with France, and engaged wholly to abandon the

* De Montfort married Mary, the fourth daughter of Edward III. and Queen Philippa.

interests of England. Buckingham returned home in the following spring, glad to escape from the hostility of the Bretons.*

These proceedings had cost large sums of money, and the nation was sorely harassed by taxation, or by the way in which the taxes were levied. In an evil hour parliament passed a capitation tax: this was a repetition of the tax imposed in the last year of the preceding reign, but slightly modified, so as to make it fall less heavily on the poor. Every male and female of fifteen years of age was to pay three groats; but in cities and towns the aggregate amount was to be divided among the inhabitants according to their abilities, or in such a way that no individual should pay less than one groat, or more than sixty groats for himself and his wife. Where there was little or no registration, the fixing of the age was sure to lead to disputes: the collectors might easily take a boy or girl of fourteen to be fifteen, and poverty would induce many of the poor knowingly to make a mis-statement of the opposite kind. But the levying of this awkward tax might have passed over with nothing more serious than a few riots between the people and the tax-gatherers, had it not been for other circumstances involved in the mighty change which had gradually been taking place in the whole body of European society. The peasantry had been gradually emerging from slavery to freedom, and began to feel an ambition to become men, and to be treated as such by their superiors in the accidental circumstances of rank and wealth. In this transition state there were mistakes and atrocious crimes committed by both parties; but ignorance may be particularly pleaded in exculpation of the people, while that very ignorance and the brutalized state in which they had been kept were crimes or mistakes on the part of the upper classes, who had now to pay a horrible penalty. The enfranchisement of the peasantry, which was the real motive of the movement,—for the rest was an after-thought, begotten in the madness of success, and the frenzy inspired

* Froissart.—Archives de Nantes, quoted by Daru.

in unenlightened minds by the first consciousness of power,—was so sacred an object that nothing could disgrace or eventually defeat it. In Flanders, notwithstanding that there the more respectable burghers took a share in the insurrection, many frightful excesses had been committed upon the aristocracy, and in France the recent Jacquerie had been little else than a series of horrors. The attempt of the French peasantry offered a discouraging example to their neighbours in England; but the democratic party had had a long triumph in Flanders; and at this very moment the son of Von Artaveldt, the brewer of Ghent, with Peter du Bois, was waging a successful war against their court, their nobles, and the whole aristocracy of France. From the close intercourse between the two countries, many of the English must have been perfectly acquainted with all that was passing in Flanders, and may have derived encouragement therefrom. A new revolt had also commenced in France headed by the burghers and inhabitants of the towns: it began at Rouen, where the collectors of taxes and duties on provisions were massacred. Many of our historians have attributed part of the storm which was now gathering in England to the preaching of Wycliffe's disciples, but their original authorities seem to have been prejudiced witnesses against the church reformer. The convulsion is sufficiently accounted for by the actual condition of the people of England at this period. That condition, though far superior to the state of the French people, was sufficiently wretched and galling. A considerable portion of the peasantry were still serfs or "villains," bound to the soil, and sold, or transmitted with the estates of the nobles and other landed proprietors. The present discontents and sufferings of the classes immediately above these serfs,—the poor towns-people on the coast, more particularly, who had been plundered by the foreign fleets,—no doubt contributed to hurry on the sanguinary crisis; but it was the poll-tax that was the proximate cause of the mischief. At first the tax was levied with mildness; but being farmed out to some courtiers who raised money upon it from Flemish and Lombard

merchants, it was exacted by their collectors with great severity. But the obstinacy of the people kept pace with the harshness of the collectors; many of the rural districts refused payment. The recusants were handled very sorely and uncourteously, "almost not to be spoken," in various places in Kent and Essex, "which some of the people taking in evil part, secretly took counsel together, gathered assistance, and resisted the exactors, rising against them, of whom some they slew, some they wounded, and the rest fled." Alarmed at these proceedings, government sent certain commissioners into the disturbed districts. One of these commissioners, Thomas de Bampton, sat at Brentwood in Essex; the people of Fobbing on being summoned before him, said that they would not pay one penny more than they had done, "whereupon the said Thomas did grievously threaten them, having with him two serjeants-at-arms of the king." These threats made matters worse, and when Bampton ordered his serjeants to arrest them, the peasants drove him and his men-at-arms away to London. Upon this Sir Robert Belknape, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, was sent into Essex to try the offenders; but the peasants forced him to flee, and chopped off the heads of the jurors and clerks of the commission. They stuck these heads upon poles and carried them through all the neighbouring townships and villages, calling upon all the poor to rise and join them. "The commons of England" (for so the peasants called themselves, and were called by others) wanted nothing but a leader, and this they soon found in a "riotous priest," who took the name of Jack Straw. In a few days, not only the whole agricultural population of Essex was up in arms, but their neighbours in Kent, Suffolk, and Norfolk were following the example. In Kent, an act of brutality on the part of a tax-gatherer, and an act of great imprudence (considering the prevailing excitement) on the part of a knight, fanned the flames of revolt. One of the collectors of the poll-money went to the house of one Walter the Tyler, in the town of Dartford, and demanded the tax for a young maiden, the daughter of Walter. The

mother maintained that she was but a child, and not of the womanly age set down by the act of parliament: the collector said he would ascertain this fact, and he offered an intolerable insult to the girl. The maiden and her mother cried out, and the father who was tiling a house in the town, ran to the spot and knocked out the tax-gatherer's brains. The neighbours applauded the deed, and every one prepared to support the Tyler. About the same time, Sir Simon Burley went to Gravesend with an armed force, claimed an industrious man living in that town as his escaped bondsman, and carried him off a prisoner to Rochester Castle. The commons of Kent now rose as one man, and being joined by a strong body of the men of Essex, who crossed the Thames, they fell upon Rochester Castle, and compelled the garrison to deliver up Sir Simon's serf with other prisoners. In the town of Maidstone, the insurgents appointed Wat the Tyler their captain, and then took out of prison, and had for their chaplain or preacher, "a wicked priest called John Ball."

On the Monday after Trinity Sunday, 1381, Wat Tyler entered Canterbury: after terrifying the monks and the clergy of the cathedral, he forced the mayor, aldermen, and commons of the town to swear to be true to King Richard and the lawful commons of England: then beheading three rich men of Canterbury, Wat marched away towards London. On his march recruits came to him from all quarters of Kent and Sussex; and by the time he reached Blackheath (11th June) there were, it is said, one hundred thousand desperate men obeying the orders of Wat Tyler. While at this spot the widow of the Black Prince, the young king's mother, fell into their hands; but, in the midst of their fury they respected her, and after granting a few kisses to some dirty-faced and rough-bearded men, she was allowed, with her retinue and maids of honour, to proceed quietly to London. While this host was bivouacked about Blackheath and Greenwich, John Ball, the priest of Kent, kept them to their purpose by long orations or sermons, in which he insisted that all men were equal before God, and ought to be so

before the laws,—and so far he was right; but it appears he went on to recommend an equality of property, which is impracticable, and a destruction of all the upper classes, which was monstrous. His eloquence had such an effect on the multitude, that forgetting his own doctrines of equality, they vowed they would make him primate and chancellor of England. They occupied all the roads, killed such judges and lawyers as fell into their hands, and made all the rest of the passengers swear to be true to King Richard and the commons, to accept no king whose name was "John,"* and to pay no tax except the fifteenths which had been paid by their forefathers. The young king with his mother, with his cousin Henry of Bolingbroke, with Simon, Archbishop of Canterbury and chancellor, Sir Robert Hales, treasurer, and some other members of the government, threw himself into the Tower of London. The Duke of Lancaster was in Scotland negotiating a peace. Some of the council were of opinion that Richard should go and speak with the insurgents, but the archbishop and the treasurer strongly objected to this measure, and said that nothing but force should be used "to abate the pride of such vile rascals." On the 12th of June, however, Richard got into his barge, and descended the river as far as Rotherhithe, where he found a vast multitude drawn up along shore. "When they perceived the king's barge," says Froissart, "they set up shouts and cries as if all the devils from hell had come into their company." Startled and terrified, the persons with the king put about the boat, and, taking advantage of the rising tide, rowed back with all speed to the Tower. The commons, who had always professed the greatest attachment to Richard's person, now called aloud for the heads of all the ministers; and marching along the right bank of the river to Southwark, and then to Lambeth, destroyed the Marshalsea and King's Bench,

* John was an unhappy name in English history; and John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, the king's uncle, was held guilty of all the oppressions the people had recently suffered. The notion, moreover, of his having designs on the crown was as prevalent as ever.

and burned the furniture and all the records and books in the palace of the primate. At the same time the men of Essex advanced along the left bank of the river, and threatened the north-eastern part of London. Walworth, the mayor, caused the movable part of London-bridge to be drawn up, to prevent the men of Kent from crossing the river; but on the following day a passage was yielded to them through fear, and the insurgents entered the city, where they were presently joined by all the rabble. At first their demeanour was most moderate;—"they did no hurt, they took nothing from any man, but bought all things they wanted at a just price." But the madness of drunkenness was soon added to political fury. The rich citizens, hoping to conciliate the mob, had set open their wine cellars for them. Thus excited, they went to the Savoy, the house of the Duke of Lancaster, broke into this palace, and set fire to it. To show that plunder was not their object, the leaders published a proclamation ordering that none, on pain of death, should secrete or convert to his own own use anything that might be found there, but that plate, gold, and jewels should all be destroyed. It would have been well had the prohibition extended to the duke's wines; but they drank there immoderately, and thirty-two of the rioters, engaged in the cellars of the Savoy, were too drunk to remove in time, and were buried under the ruins of the house. Newgate was then demolished; and the prisoners who had been confined there and in the Fleet, joined in the work of havoc. The Temple was burnt, with all the books and ancient and valuable records it contained; and about the same time a detachment set fire to the priory of St. John of Jerusalem, in Clerkenwell. They now also proceeded to the shedding of blood. They probably felt that antipathy to foreigners common to uneducated people; but against the Flemings, who it was popularly said fattened on their miseries, they bore the most deadly rancour. The sanctuary of the church was disregarded, and thirty Flemings were dragged from the altar into the streets, and beheaded; thirty-two more were seized in the Vintry, and underwent the same fate.

Some of the rich citizens were massacred in attempting to escape: those who remained did nothing for the defence of the city; and all that night London was involved in fire, murder, and debauchery.

On the morning of the 14th it was resolved to try the effect of concession and of promises. A proclamation was issued to a multitude that crowded Tower-hill, clamouring for the heads of the chancellor and treasurer; and they were told that, if they would retire quietly to Mile End, the king would meet them there, and grant all their requests. The gates were opened, the drawbridge was lowered, and Richard rode forth with a few attendants without arms. The commonalty from the country followed the king: "but all did not go, nor had they the same objects in view." On arriving at Mile End, Richard was surrounded by upwards of sixty thousand peasants; but their demeanour was mild and respectful, and they presented no more than four demands, three of which were wise and moderate. These four demands of the peasants were—1. The total abolition of slavery for themselves and their children for ever. 2. The reduction of the rent of good land to fourpence the acre. 3. The full liberty of buying and selling, like other men, in all fairs and markets. 4. A general pardon for all past offences. The king, with a gracious countenance, assured them that all these demands were granted; and, returning to town, he employed upwards of thirty clerks to make copies of the charter containing the four clauses. In the morning these copies were sealed and delivered, and then an immense body of the insurgents, consisting chiefly of the men of Essex and Hertfordshire, quietly withdrew from the capital: but more dangerous men remained behind. The people of Kent, who had been joined by all kinds of miscreants, had committed some atrocious deeds on the preceding day, while the king was marching to Mile End. Almost as soon as his back was turned, with a facility which excites a suspicion of treachery or disaffection on the part of the garrison,* they got into the

* There were six hundred men-at-arms, and as many

Tower, where they cut off the heads of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the chancellor; Sir Robert Hales, the treasurer; William Apuldore, the king's confessor; Legge, one of the farmers of the tax, and three of his associates. The widow of the Black Prince, who was in the Tower, was completely at their mercy; but the ci-devant "Fair Maid of Kent" was again quit for a few unsavory kisses. The horror of the scene, however, overpowered her; and she was carried by her ladies in a senseless state to a covered boat. As soon as he could the king joined his mother, who had been finally conveyed to a house called the Royal Wardrobe.

Wat Tyler and the leaders with him rejected the charter which the men of Essex had so gladly accepted. Another charter was drawn up, but it equally failed to please, and even a third, with still larger concessions, was rejected with contempt. The next morning the king left the Wardrobe and went to Westminster, where he heard mass. After this he mounted his horse, and, with a retinue of barons and knights, rode along the "causeway" towards London. On coming into West Smithfield he met Wat Tyler. The mayor and some other city magistrates had joined the king, but his whole company, it is said, did not exceed sixty persons. In the front of the Abbey of St. Bartholomew, Richard drew rein, and said that he would not go thence until he had appeased the rioters. Wat Tyler said to his men, "Here is the king! I will go speak with him. Move not hand or foot unless I give you a signal." Wat, who had procured arms and a horse, rode boldly up to Richard, and went so near that his horse's head touched the flank of Richard's steed. "King!" said he, "dost thou see all those men there?" "I see them," replied the king, "why dost thou ask?" "Because they are all at my will, and have sworn by their faith and loyalty to do whatsoever I bid them." During this parley the Tyler played with his dagger, and, it is said by some, laid hold of Richard's bridle. It is probable that this uneducated

archers, in the Tower. The rebels or insurgents were miserably armed and equipped.

man, intoxicated by his brief authority, was coarse and insolent enough; but to suppose that he intended to kill the king is absurd. Some say that Richard ordered his arrest; others that John Walworth, the lord mayor, thinking that he intended to stab the king, rode up and plunged a short sword into his throat without any orders. All accounts agree in stating that, whether with sword, dagger, or mace, it was the mayor that struck the first blow. Wat Tyler turned his horse's head to rejoin his men, but Ralph Standish, one of the king's esquires, thrust his sword through his side, "so that he fell flat on his back to the ground, and beating with his hands to and fro for a while, gave up his unhappy ghost." When the men of Kent saw his fall they cried out, "We are betrayed! They have killed our captain and guide!" and the foremost men in that disordered array began to put their arrows on the string. The personal intrepidity of the royal boy—for Richard was only in his fifteenth year—saved his life. He rode gallantly up to the insurgents and exclaimed, "What are ye doing, my lieges? Tyler was a traitor—I am your king, and I will be your captain and guide." On hearing these words, many slipped away—others remained; but, without a leader, they knew not what to do. The king rode back to his lords, and asked what steps he should take next. "Make for the fields," said the lord mayor: "if we attempt to retreat or flee, our ruin is certain; but let us gain a little time, and we shall be assisted by our good friends in the city." The king and his party made for the northern road, and the mob, wavering and uncertain, followed him to the open fields about Islington. Here 1000 men-at-arms joined the king, under the command of Sir Robert Knowles. The insurgents now thinking their case hopeless, either ran away through the corn fields, or, throwing their bows on the ground, knelt and implored for mercy.

While these events were passing in London and its neighbourhood, the servile war had spread over a great part of England. As the nobles shut themselves up in their strong castles, but little blood was shed. Henry

Spencer, the Bishop of Norwich, despised this safe course; he armed his retainers, collected his friends, and kept the field against the insurgents of Norfolk, Cambridge, and Huntingdon. He surprised several bodies of peasants, and cut them to pieces: others he took prisoners, and sent straight to the gibbet or the block.*

Soon after the death of Wat Tyler, Richard found himself at the head of 40,000 horse, and then he told the people that all his charters meant nothing, and that they must return to their old bondage. The men of Essex made a stand, but they were defeated with great loss. Then courts of commission were opened in different towns to condemn rather than to try the chief offenders. Jack Straw and John Ball, the strolling preachers, Lister and Westbroom, who had taken to themselves the titles of kings of the commons in Norfolk and Suffolk, with several hundred more, were executed. The whole number of executions amounted to 1500.

When parliament assembled, it was seen how little the upper classes of society were prepared for that recognition of the rights of the poor, to which in the present day no one could demur without incurring the suspicion of insanity. The king had annulled, by proclamation to the sheriffs, the charters of manumission which he had granted to the insurgents, and this revocation was warmly approved by both lords and commons. There was a talk indeed about the propriety and wisdom of abolishing villainage; but the notion was scouted, and the owners of serfs showed that they neither doubted the right by which they held their fellow-creatures in a state of slavery, nor would hesitate to increase the severity of the laws affecting them. They passed a law by which "riots, and rumours, and other such things," were turned into high treason.† But this parliament evidently acted under the impulses of

* Froissart.— Knyghton.—Walsingham.—Stow.—Holinshed.

† Stat. Rich. ii. c. 7.

panic and of revenge for recent injuries. The commons, however, presented petitions calling for redress of abuses in the administration: they attributed the late insurrection to the extortions of purveyors, to the venality and rapacity of the judges and officers of the courts of law, to the horrible doings of a set of banditti called Maintainers, and to the heavy weight of recent taxation.

A.D. 1382.—The king being now in his sixteenth year, was married to Anne of Bohemia, daughter of the late Emperor Charles IV., an accomplished and excellent princess, who deserved a better and a wiser husband.

At this time there were two popes, Urban VI., an Italian, and Clement VII., a Frenchman. France, Scotland, Spain, Sicily, and Cyprus were for Clement; England, Flanders, and the rest of Europe for Urban. The Italian pope, after looking about for a brave and sure champion, fixed his eyes on the warlike Bishop of Norwich, who had so lately distinguished himself in the servile war of England. At the same time, the Flemings, sorely pressed by the French, renewed their applications to England for assistance. After preaching a sort of crusade, the Bishop of Norwich asked in the pope's name a tenth on church property, obtained the produce of a fifteenth on lay property, and raised a small army, and so passed over the Channel to make war.* The war in which this military churchman engaged, presented two aspects: under one, it was a sacred crusade for the pope, but under the other, it was a conflict waged in union with, and for the rights and independence of, the burghers and commons of Flanders against the aristocracy. After the murder of James Von Artaveldt, the cause of democracy declined; and thirty-six years after that event, the Flemings were almost reduced to extremities. In this state they fixed all their hopes on Von Artaveldt's son, who had been named Philip, after his godmother Philippa, the wife of Edward III. Philip Von Artaveldt, warned by his

* Froissart.

father's fate, had passed his life in a quiet and happy retirement; and in 1381 he was dragged, with his eyes open to the worst consequences, to head the council and lead the armies of the dispirited people. For about fifteen months, which included the whole of his public life, his career was as brilliant as a romance: but in the month of November, 1382, he was defeated in the sanguinary battle of Rosebecque, and (in this more fortunate than his father) was killed by the enemy. After that dreadful defeat, the cause of the commons again declined.*

Affairs were in this state at the arrival of the English force. The Bishop of Norwich led his little army to Gravelines, which he stormed and took: he next defeated an army of the Count of Flanders, took the town of Dunkirk, and occupied the whole coast as far as Sluys: he then marched with an impetuosity which astonished more regular warriors to lay siege to Ypres, where he was joined by twenty thousand of the men of Ghent. Meanwhile, the count implored the protection of the young King of France, who sent a splendid army across the frontier. The bishop made one furious assault; but, on the approach of the French, he ran back to the coast. In England his failure was attributed to the jealousy of the Duke of Lancaster.

A.D. 1384.—In her jealousy of the powers of his uncles, the Princess of Wales had surrounded her son with ministers and officers who were chiefly men of obscure birth. Richard, who lived almost entirely in the society of these individuals, contracted an exclusive affection for them, and, as soon as he was able, he began to heap wealth and honours upon them. Hence there arose perpetual bickerings between the favourites and the king's uncles. A dark mystery will for ever hang over most of these transactions. Once the Duke of Lancaster was obliged to hide himself in Scotland, and he would not return until Richard publicly proclaimed his conviction of his innocence. In the month of April of this

* Froiss.—Barante, Hist. des Ducs de Bourgogne.

year, just after the duke had done good service against the Scots, the parliament met at Salisbury. One day during the session, John Latimer, a Carmelite friar, a native of Ireland, gave Richard a parchment, containing the particulars of a conspiracy to place the crown on the head of his uncle. The king communicated the contents to Lancaster, who swore that they were all utterly false, and insisted that his accuser should be placed in safe custody to be examined by the council. The monk was accordingly committed to the care of Sir John Holland, the king's half-brother, who is said to have strangled him with his own hands during the night. The Lord Zouch, whom the friar had named as the author of the memorial, declared upon his oath that he knew nothing about it, and the matter dropped.

Truces with Scotland were prolonged till the month of May, 1385, when the French sent John de Vienne, lord admiral of France, with one thousand men-at-arms, and forty thousand franks in gold, to induce the Scots to make an inroad into England. The French knights soon complained bitterly of the pride of the Scots, the poverty of the land, and the lack of amusements. At last, the French and Scots broke into Northumberland; but Richard, who now took the field for the first time, came up from York, and forced them to retire. With eighty thousand men, Richard crossed the borders, burnt Edinburgh, Perth, and other towns; but then he was obliged to retreat—for information was brought that John de Vienne had crossed the Solway Frith, and was besieging Carlisle. The French and Scots marched off by the west, and returned towards Edinburgh, boasting that they had done as much mischief in England as the English had done in Scotland. During this campaign, the royal quarters were disgraced by a vile murder. At York, during the advance, Sir John Holland assassinated one of the favourites, and the grief, shame, and anxiety, caused by this event broke the heart of the Princess of Wales, who died a few days after. After the campaign the king made great promotions to quiet the jealousy of his relations;—honours fell upon them,

but these were nothing compared to the honours and grants conferred on his own minions. Henry of Bolingbroke, Lancaster's son, was made Earl of Derby; the king's uncles, the Earls of Cambridge and Buckingham, were created Dukes of York and Gloucester. As Richard had no children, he declared that his lawful successor would be Roger, Earl of March, grandson of Lionel, Duke of Clarence.*

Soon after these arrangements, the Duke of Lancaster was enabled to depart to press his claim to the throne of Castile. A disputed succession in Portugal, and a war between that country and Spain, seemed to open a road for him. The king was evidently glad to have him out of England. Parliament voted supplies; and, in the month of July, the duke set sail with an army of ten thousand men. Lancaster landed at Coruña, opened a road through Gallicia, into Portugal, and formed a junction with the king of that country, who married Philippa, the duke's eldest daughter by his first wife. At first, the duke was everywhere victorious; but, in a second campaign, his army was almost annihilated by disease and famine; and his own declining health forced him to retire to Guienne. In the end, however, he concluded an advantageous treaty. His daughter Catherine, the granddaughter of Peter the Cruel, was married to Henry, the heir of the reigning King of Castile. Two hundred thousand crowns were paid to the duke for the expenses he had incurred; and the King of Castile agreed to pay forty thousand florins by way of annuity to the Duke and Duchess of Lancaster. The issue of John of Gaunt reigned in Spain for many generations.

Encouraged by the absence of the duke, the French determined to invade England. Upwards of a hundred thousand men, including nearly all the chivalry of France, were encamped in Flanders, and an immense fleet lay in the port of Sluys ready to carry them over. Charles VI., who determined to take a part in the expedition, went to Sluys, and even embarked; but this

* Froissart.—Walsing.—Knyght.—Rot. Parl.—Rymer.

young king was entirely in the power of his intriguing and turbulent uncles, who seem to have determined (not unwisely, perhaps) that the expedition should not take place, and in the end the army was disbanded. The fleet was dispersed by a tempest, and many of the ships were taken by the English.

Richard gained no increase of comfort by the absence of Lancaster, whose younger brother, the Duke of Gloucester, was far harsher than John of Gaunt had ever been. At the meeting of parliament, the Duke of Gloucester headed an opposition which determined to drive Richard's favourites de la Pole and de Vere from office. They began with de la Pole, who, after a weak attempt to save him, was dismissed. After his expulsion, the commons impeached him of high crimes and misdemeanors, and he was sentenced to pay a heavy fine and to be imprisoned. Gloucester and his party then said that no good government could be expected until a permanent council was chosen by parliament—a council like those which had been appointed in the reigns of John, Henry III., and Edward II. Richard said he would never consent to any such measure. The commons then coolly produced the statute by which Edward II. had been deposed; and one of the lords reminded him that his life would be in danger if he persisted in his refusal. Upon this Richard yielded, and the government was substantially vested for a year in the hands of eleven commissioners, bishops and peers, to whom were added the three great officers of the crown. At the head of all was placed the King's uncle Gloucester.*

The king was now twenty years of age, but he was reduced to as mere a cipher as when he was but eleven. In the month of August in the following year, 1387, acting under the advice of de la Pole and Tresilian, the chief justice, he assembled a council at Nottingham, and submitted to some of the judges this question,—whether the commission of government appointed by parliament, and approved of under his own seal, were legal or illegal?

* Rot. Parl.

These judges certified under their hands and seals that the commission was illegal, and that all those who introduced the measure were liable to capital punishment. On the 11th of November following, the king, who had returned to London, was alarmed by the intelligence that his uncle Gloucester and the Earls of Arundel and Nottingham, the constable, admiral, and marshal of England, were approaching the capital with 40,000 men. The decision of the judges had been kept secret, but one of the number betrayed it to a friend of Gloucester. As soon as Richard's cousin the Earl of Derby, Lancaster's son and heir, learned the approach of his uncle of Gloucester, he quitted the court, went to Waltham Cross, and there joined him. The members of the Council of Eleven were there already. On Sunday the 17th of November the duke entered London with an irresistible force and "appealed" of treason the Archbishop of York, de Vere, now Duke of Ireland, de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, Robert Tresilian, chief justice, and Sir Nicholas Brember, knight, and lord mayor of London. The favourites instantly took to flight. De la Pole, the condemned chancellor, who had returned to court, succeeded in reaching France, where he died soon after; de Vere, the Duke of Ireland, got to the borders of Wales, where he received royal letters authorizing him to raise an army, and begin a civil war. He collected a few thousand men, but was met near Radcot, and thoroughly defeated by Gloucester and Henry of Bolingbroke. He then fled to Ireland and afterwards to Holland, where he died. The Archbishop of York was seized in the north, but was allowed to escape by the people: he also finished his days not long after, in the humble condition of a parish priest in Flanders. After the defeat of his army under de Vere, Richard lost all heart, and retired into the Tower. His uncle Gloucester, who believed on pretty good grounds that the king and the favourites had intended to put him to death, showed little mercy. He drove every friend of Richard away from the court, and threw some ten or twelve of them into prison. The "wonderful parliament," which met in the beginning of

the year 1388, carried out the impeachments. The five obnoxious councillors were found guilty of high treason, their property was confiscated, and Tresilian and Brember the mayor were executed, to the joy of the people.

The judges who had signed and sealed the answer at Nottingham were next impeached. Their only plea was, that they had acted under terror of the king and the favourites: they were capitally convicted; but the bishops interceded in their behalf, and, instead of being sent to the scaffold, they were sent into exile for life in Ireland. Blake, however, who had drawn up the questions at Nottingham, was executed, and so was Usk, who had been secretly appointed under-sheriff to seize the person of the Duke of Gloucester. The king's confessor, who swore that no threats had been used with the judges at Nottingham, was also condemned to exile in Ireland. It was hoped that the shedding of blood would stop here, but such was not the intention of Gloucester. After the Easter recess he impeached four knights, and these unfortunate men were all convicted and executed.*

For about twelve months Richard left the whole power of government in the hands of his uncle and of the council or commission. It was during this interval that the battle of Otterbourne, famous in song under the name of Chevy Chase, was fought (15th August, 1388) between the Scottish Earl Douglas, and the Lord Harry Percy, the renowned Hotspur. Douglas was slain, but the English were in the end driven from the field, after both Hotspur and his brother, Lord Ralph Percy, had been taken prisoners. At length Richard gave a proof of that decisive promptitude which visited his mind at uncertain intervals. In a great council held in the month of May, 1389, he suddenly addressed his uncle—"How old do you think I am?" "Your highness," replied Gloucester, "is in your twenty-second year." "Then," added the king, "I am surely of age to manage my own affairs. I have been longer under the control of guardians than any ward in my dominions. I thank ye, my

* Rot. Parl.—Knyght.

lords, for your past services, but I want them no longer." Before they could recover from their astonishment he demanded the great seals from the archbishop, and the keys of the Exchequer from the Bishop of Hereford; and within a few days he drove Gloucester from the council without meeting with any opposition. The chief administration of affairs was, however, left to another uncle, the Duke of York, and to his cool-headed and calculating cousin, Henry of Bolingbroke.*

Lancaster returned from the continent after an absence of more than three years, and, from circumstances with which we are not sufficiently acquainted, he became all at once exceedingly moderate and popular. He conducted his brother Gloucester and the nobles of his party to court, where an affecting reconciliation took place. The duke was re-admitted into the council; Lancaster was created Duke of Aquitaine for life,† and intrusted with the negotiation of a peace with France. A truce was concluded for four years. This truce also embraced Scotland, the king of which country, Robert II., had died the 19th of April, 1390, leaving the crown to his eldest son John, Earl of Carrick, who took the name of Robert III.‡

A.D. 1394.—After the death of "the good Queen Anne"—as Richard's wife had long been called by the English people—which happened at Shene, on Whit Sunday, the king collected a considerable army, and crossed over to Ireland, where the native chiefs had been for some time making head against the English, and where some of the English themselves had revolted. This campaign was a bloodless one: the Irish chiefs submitted; Richard entertained them with great magnificence, knighted some of them, and, after spending a

* Walsing.—Knyght.—Rot. Parl.

† This grant was subsequently recalled.

‡ The same popular prejudice against the name of John, at least for a king, which we have seen displayed by the English followers of Wat Tyler, was also entertained at this time by the Scots. It is commonly traced to the unfortunate reigns of John of England, John of France, and John Baliol.

winter in the country, and redressing some abuses, he returned home, and was well received by his subjects. Although the council was divided on the matter, Richard at last decided on contracting a matrimonial alliance with France; and in the month of October, 1396, he passed over to the continent, and married Isabella, the daughter of Charles VI.—a princess, a miracle of beauty and of wit, according to Froissart, but who was little more than seven years old. The blessing of a peace, or at least of a truce, for twenty-five years, was the consequence of this union, and yet the marriage was decidedly unpopular in England. The Duke of Gloucester had always opposed it. It is said that the duke's declamations were the more vehement, because he suspected what would follow to himself; and it is certain that Richard asked assistance from Charles VI., to be given in case of need, and that this alliance with France gave him courage to undertake a scheme which his deep revenge had nourished for many years. The year after his marriage, in the month of July, Richard struck his blow with consummate treachery: after entertaining him at dinner, in his usual bland manner, he arrested the Earl of Warwick. Two days after he induced the primate to bring his brother, the Earl of Arundel, to a friendly conference; and then Arundel was arrested. He had thus got two of his victims: to entrap the third, and the greatest of all, he went with a gay company to Pleshy Castle, in Essex, where his uncle Gloucester was residing with his family. The duke, suspecting no mischief, came out to meet the royal guest, and, while Richard entertained the duchess with friendly discourse, Gloucester was seized by the earl marshal, carried with breathless speed to the river, put on board ship, and conveyed to Calais.

A few days after Richard went to Nottingham Castle, and there, taking his uncles Lancaster and York, and his cousin Henry of Bolingbroke by surprise, he made them, with other noblemen, put their seals to a parchment, by which Gloucester, Arundel, and Warwick were "appealed" of treason in the same manner that they had appealed the king's favourites ten years before. A par-

liament was then summoned to try the three traitors, for so they were now called by men, like Henry of Bolingbroke, who had been partakers in all their acts, and by others who had supported them in their boldest measures.

On the 17th of September, Richard went to parliament with six hundred men-at-arms, and a body-guard of archers. The Commons, who had received their lesson, began by impeaching Thomas Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury, of high treason. Fearing the primate's eloquence, Richard artfully prevented his attending in the Lords, and he was, at the king's will, banished for life. On the following day his brother, the Earl of Arundel, was condemned and beheaded on Tower Hill. On the 21st of September, a writ was issued to the Earl Marshal, governor of Calais, commanding him to bring the body of his prisoner the Duke of Gloucester before the king in parliament. On the 24th (and three days were probably then scarcely enough for a king's messenger to travel to Calais and back) an answer was returned to the Lords, that the Earl Marshal could not produce the duke, for that he, being in custody in the king's prison in Calais, had died there. This parliament made no inquiries. The Lords appellants demanded judgment; the Commons seconded their demand, and the dead duke was declared to be a traitor, and all his property was confiscated to the king. On the next day a document, purporting to be Gloucester's confession taken by Sir William Rickhill, one of the justices who had been sent over to Calais in the preceding month for that sole purpose, as was pretended, was produced and read in parliament.* On the 28th, Gloucester's friend, the Earl of Warwick was brought before the bar of the House: the earl pleaded

* Rickhill saw the Duke alive, at Calais on the 7th of September. The real object of his mission, and the real circumstances of Gloucester's death, are involved in a mystery never likely to be cleared up. But it seems that the universal impression, not only in England but also on the continent, was correct, and that he was secretly murdered, and in a manner not to disfigure the corpse, which was afterwards delivered to his family.

guilty, but his sentence was commuted into perpetual imprisonment in the Isle of Man. In passing sentence on these nobles, there were many who condemned themselves. After their recent experience of the king, nothing but fatuity could make them repose confidence in any of his assurances, or in the steadiness of parliament; but for want of any better security, they extracted from Richard a declaration of their own innocence in regard to all past transactions. This declaration was made in full parliament. After this the king, who was very fond of high-sounding titles, made several promotions of his nobles. Among these, his cousin Henry Bolingbroke was created Duke of Hereford.*

Gloucester's "wonderful" parliament of 1388 had taken an oath that nothing there passed into law should be changed or abrogated; and now the very same men, with a few exceptions, took the same oath to the decisions of the present parliament, which undid all that was then done. The answers of the judges to the questions put at Nottingham, which had then been punished as acts of high treason, were now pronounced to be just and legal. It was declared high treason to attempt to repeal or overturn any judgment now passed; and the issue male of all the persons who had been condemned were declared for ever incapable of sitting in parliament or holding office in council. "These violent ordinances, as if the precedent they were then overturning had not shielded itself with the same sanction, were sworn to by parliament upon the cross of Canterbury, and confirmed by a national oath, with the penalty of excommunication denounced against its infringers."† Before this obsequious parliament separated, it set the dangerous precedent of granting the king a subsidy, *for life*, upon wool; and a commission was granted for twelve peers and six commoners to sit after the dissolution, and examine and determine certain matters as to them should seem best. These eighteen commissioners usurped the entire rights of the legislature: they imposed a perpetual oath on prelates and

* Rot. Parl.—Froiss.—Knyght.

† Hallam. Midd. Ages.

lords to be taken before obtaining possession of their estates, that they would maintain the statutes and ordinances made by this parliament, or afterwards by the lords and knights, having power committed to them by the same; and they declared it to be high treason to disobey any of their ordinances. Thus, with the vote of a revenue for life, and with the power of parliament notoriously usurped by a junto of his creatures, Richard became as absolute as he could wish. "In those days," says Froissart, "there was none so great in England that durst speak against anything that the king did. He had a council suitable to his fancies, who exhorted him to do what he *list*: he kept in his wages ten thousand archers, who watched over him day and night." This high and absolute bearing was, however, of short duration. The people were soon disgusted with Richard, who appeared only to crave power and money that he might lavish them on his minions and indulge himself in an indolent and luxurious life.

A general murmur was soon raised against the late parliament: people said that it had not been freely chosen; that it had with bad faith and barbarity revoked former pardons and connived at illegal exactions; that it had been a party to the shameful impunity of the murderers of Gloucester; and that it had assisted the king in destroying the liberties of the kingdom. Matters were approaching this state when the mutual distrusts of two great noblemen, and the fears they both entertained of the cunning and vindictive spirit of the king, hurried on the catastrophe. Henry of Bolingbroke, now Duke of Hereford, and Mowbray, now Duke of Norfolk, were the only two that remained of the five appellants of 1386. To all outward appearance they enjoyed the favour and confidence of the king; but they both knew that their original sin had never been forgiven. The Duke of Norfolk seems to have been the more alarmed or the more communicative of the two. Overtaking the Duke of Hereford, who was riding on the road between Windsor and London, in the month of December, during the recess of parliament, Mowbray said,

"We are about to be ruined." Henry of Bolingbroke asked "For what?" and Mowbray said, "For the affair of Radcot bridge." "How can that be after his pardon and declaration in parliament?" "He will annul that pardon," said Mowbray, "and our fate will be like that of others before us." And then he went on to assure Hereford that there was no trust to be put in Richard's promises or oaths, or demonstrations of affection, and that he knew of a certainty that he and his minions were then compassing the deaths of the Dukes of Lancaster, Hereford, Albemarle, and Exeter, the Marquis of Dorset, and of himself. Henry then said, "If such be the case, we can never trust them;" to which Mowbray rejoined, "So it is, and though they may not be able to do it now, they will contrive to destroy us in our houses ten years hence."*

This reign, as abounding in dark and treacherous transactions, is rich in historical doubts. It is not clear how this conversation was reported to Richard, but the damning suspicion rests upon Henry of Bolingbroke. When parliament met, after the recess, in the month of January, 1398, Hereford was called upon by the king to relate what had passed between the Duke of Norfolk and himself; and then Hereford rose and presented in writing the whole of the conversation. Norfolk did not attend in parliament, but he surrendered on proclamation, called Henry of Lancaster a liar and false traitor, and threw down his gauntlet. Richard ordered both parties into custody, and instead of submitting the case to parliament, referred it to a court of chivalry, which, after many delays, awarded that wager of battle should be joined at Coventry on the 16th of September. As the time approached, Richard was heard to say, "Now I shall have peace from henceforward;" but, on the appointed day, when the combatants were in the lists, and had couched their lances, throwing down his warder between them, he took the battle into his own hands. After consulting with the committee of parliament—the base eighteen—to

* Rot. Parl. This is the account which Hereford gave in parliament.

the bewilderment of all men, he condemned Hereford to banishment for ten years, and Norfolk for life. Hereford went no further than France: Norfolk made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and not long after died broken-hearted at Venice. On the death of the Duke of Lancaster, which happened about three months after the exile of his son Hereford, Richard seized his immense estates and kept them, notwithstanding his having, before his departure out of England, granted letters patent to Hereford, permitting him to appoint attorneys to represent him and take possession of his lawful inheritance.* But now there was no law in the land except what proceeded from the will of Richard, who, after ridding himself, as he fancied, for ever, of the two great peers, set no limits to his despotism. He raised money by forced loans; he coerced the judges, and in order to obtain fines he outlawed seventeen counties by one stroke of the pen, alleging that they had favoured his enemies in the affair of Radcot bridge. He was told by some friends that the country was in a ferment, and that plots and conspiracies were forming against him; but the infatuated man chose this very moment for leaving England. In the end of the month of May, 1399, he sailed from Milford Haven with a splendid fleet. He took the field against the Irish on the 20th of June, and a fortnight after his cousin, the Duke of Hereford, landed at Ravenspur in Yorkshire. The duke had not escaped from France without difficulty, and all the retinue he brought with him consisted of the exiled Archbishop of Canterbury, the son of the late Earl of Arundel, fifteen knights and men-at-arms, and a few servants.

But the wily Henry was strong in the affections of the people; and both he and the archbishop had many personal friends among the nobles. As soon as he land he was joined by the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland; and as he declared that he only came for estates belonging to his father, he was speedily reinforced by many who did not foresee, and who, at that sta

* Rot. Parl.—Rymer.

would not have approved, his full and daring scheme. He marched with rapidity towards the capital, and arrived there at the head of sixty thousand men. His uncle, the Duke of York, quitted the city before his approach, and, as regent of the kingdom during Richard's absence, raised the royal standard at St. Alban's. The Londoners received Hereford as a deliverer. A general panic prevailed among the creatures of Richard, some of whom shut themselves up in Bristol Castle. The Duke of York, with such forces as he could collect, moved towards the west, there to await the arrival of Richard. After staying a few days in London, Henry marched in the same direction, and so rapid was his course that he reached the Severn on the same day as the regent. The Duke of York had discovered before this that he could place no reliance on his troops: and probably his resentment for the murder of his brother Gloucester was greater than his affection for his nephew Richard. Henry of Bolingbroke was also his nephew, and when he agreed to meet that master-mind in a secret conference, the effect was inevitable. York joined his forces to those of Henry, and helped him to take Bristol Castle. Three members of the standing committee of eighteen, the Earl of Wiltshire, Bussy, and Green were found in the castle, and executed, without trial. Henry then marched towards Chester, but York stopped at Bristol.*

For three weeks Richard remained ignorant of all that was passing. Contrary winds, and storms, are made to bear the blame of this omission, but it is probable that some of the messengers had proved unfaithful. When he received the astounding intelligence, his first remark was, that he sorely regretted not having put Henry to death, as he might have done. From Dublin he despatched the Earl of Salisbury with part of his forces, and then he repaired himself to Waterford, with the intention of crossing over with the rest. Salisbury landed at Conway, and was reinforced by the Welsh; but the king did not appear so soon as was expected, and the

* Walsing.

earl was soon deserted by his whole army, both Welsh and English. A few days after, when Richard at last arrived at Milford Haven, he was stunned by bad news of every kind; and on the second day after his landing, the few thousands of troops which he had brought with him deserted him almost to a man. At midnight, disguised as a priest, and accompanied only by his two half-brothers, Sir Stephen Scroop, his chancellor, the Bishop of Carlisle, and nine other individuals, he fled to Conway, to seek refuge in the strong castle there. At Conway he found the Earl of Salisbury and about one hundred men, who, it appears, had already consumed the slender stock of provisions laid up in the fortress. Richard then despatched his two half-brothers to Chester, Henry's head-quarters, to ascertain what were his intentions. Henry put them under arrest. Soon after sending them, Richard rode to the castles of Beaumaris and Caernarvon: they were both bare of provisions, and he returned in despair to Conway Castle. A romantic and touching story is usually told, on the faith of two anonymous manuscripts, according to which Richard was lured from his stronghold by the ingenious treachery of the Earl of Northumberland; but we are inclined to believe that famine drove him from Conway Castle, and that, in a hopeless state, he surrendered to Northumberland. At the castle of Flint, Henry of Bolingbroke met him and bent his knee, as to his sovereign. "Fair cousin of Lancaster," said Richard, uncovering his head, "you are right welcome." "My lord," answered Henry, "I am come somewhat before my time; but I will tell you the reason. Your people complain that you have ruled them harshly for twenty-two years: but, if it please God, I will help you to rule them better." The fallen king replied, "Fair cousin, since it pleaseth you, it pleaseth me well." The trumpets then sounded to horse, and, mounted on a miserable hackney, Richard rode a prisoner to Chester. No one appeared to pity his fate. At Lichfield, while on the way from Chester to the capital, the king eluded the vigilance of his guards, and escaped out of a window; but he was re-

taken, and from that time treated with greater severity On their arrival in London he was thrown into the Tower. While at Chester writs were issued in Richard's name for the meeting of parliament on the 29th of September. On the day of that meeting, a deputation of lords and commons, which included the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Earl of Northumberland, two justices, two doctors of laws, with many others, ecclesiastics and laymen, waited on the king in the Tower, who there, *according to the reporters*, made, "with a cheerful countenance," a formal renunciation of the crown, acknowledged his unfitness for government, and gave his royal ring to his cousin Henry. Whether all this passed as thus stated by the triumphant party of Lancaster, is of little consequence, and Henry was too sagacious to rest his title to the crown upon what could never be considered in any other light than that of a compulsory resignation. On Tuesday the 30th day of September, the parliament having met in Westminster Hall, the resignation of Richard was read. All the members then stood up, and signified their acceptance of it. Thirty-three articles of impeachment against Richard were afterwards read, and being declared guilty on every charge, his deposition was pronounced. Thus a deposition was added to an act of abdication.*

As soon as eight commissioners had proclaimed the sentence of deposition, Henry approached the throne, and having solemnly crossed himself, said, "In the name of God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, I, Henry of Lancaster, challenge this realm of England, because I am descended by right line of blood from the good lord King Henry III., and through that right, God of

* From the Harleian MS. 1319, a History of the Deposition of Richard II., in French verse, professing to be "composed by a French gentleman of mark, who was in the suite of the said king, with permission of the King of France." The whole of the poem is printed in the Archæologia, with an English translation, and ample explanatory notes, by the Rev. John Webb, M.A., F.A.S., Rector of Tretire, in Herefordshire.

his grace hath sent me, with help of my kin and of my friends to recover it; the which realm was in point to be undone for default of government and undoing of the good laws." He knelt for a few minutes in prayer on the steps, and then was seated on the throne by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York.*

* Rot. Parl.—Knyght.—Brady.

CHAPTER II.

The History of Religion.

It was during the period through which we have just passed, that the papal dominion in Europe attained to its greatest height, and entered upon its long decline. The extravagant pretensions of Pope Innocent III., though submitted to for a brief space, provoked animosity and reaction on the part of European princes, and not a few of their subjects. A spirit of resistance was gradually diffused both among kings and people; till at length Philip le Bel began, and Wycliffe, nearly a century later, carried forward, the great rebellion, which after little more than another century, was to be fought out triumphantly by Luther.

In no country were the exactions and encroachments of the Roman pontiffs in the thirteenth century carried to a more exorbitant extent than in England, which was in fact one great field of papal imposition and plunder. Throughout this century the bishoprics were filled either by the direct nomination of the pope, or, what was perfectly equivalent, by his arbitration in the case of a disputed election. The right of nominating to inferior benefices was also usurped by the pope; and many of these benefices were given to Italian priests, who drew the revenues and spent them at Rome. Some of these Italians never visited England at all. The total of the sum conveyed annually out of the kingdom to Rome was enormous: it was solemnly stated by the English envoys to the council of Lyons (held in 1245) that Italian priests drew from England sixty or seventy thousand marks every year—a sum greater than the whole revenue of the crown. All causes of importance were to be heard and decided at Rome. This was a material part of the

scheme for bringing the civil under subjection to the ecclesiastical power, which had been pursued with such pertinacity from the time of Archbishop Anselm and Henry I. It was also a means of draining England of much wealth; and the papal treasury was filled by various other modes. The entire taxation or tribute annually, paid, under a great variety of names to Rome, must have amounted to an exorbitant sum. Gregory IX. is said to have extracted from the kingdom, in the course of a very few years, 950,000 marks—a sum estimated as equivalent to 15,000,000*l.* at present.*

In the early part of the fourteenth century the annual revenue of the church amounted to 730,000 marks; and at this period very nearly one half of the soil of England was in the possession of the church. At the same time that all the richest benefices were in the hands of followers, where a cure was served at all, it was entrusted to a curate who appears to have been usually paid at a most wretched rate.

Gregory IX., by extending and giving a more systematic form to the canon law, and by shaping this law so as to suit the interests of the Roman church, made an immense stride in usurpation. The five books of Decretals which Gregory caused to be published, went to place the civil power completely at the foot of the ecclesiastical; and Boniface VIII. added a sixth decretal. It was expressly declared that subjects owed no allegiance to an excommunicated lord or prince; and the rubric prefixed to the declaration of the deposition of the Emperor Frederic II. asserted that the pope might dethrone the emperor for lawful causes.

"By means of her new jurisprudence," says Mr. Hallam, "Rome acquired in every country a powerful body of advocates, who, though many of them were laymen, would, with the usual bigotry of lawyers, defend every pretension or abuse to which their received standard of authority gave sanction.†"

But a still higher power assumed by the pope than

* Mr. Hallam. Hist. Midd. Ages.

† Midd. Ages.

even that of declaring or making the law, was the power of dispensing with its strongest obligations—the power of legalizing what they themselves declared to be illegal, and of remitting in the world to come the penalties incurred by such unlawful deeds. They assumed and exercised this power in particular with regard to the canonical impediments to marriage, and with regard to oaths. And as uncanonical unions or marriages contracted within the forbidden degrees of relationship could be legalized by the pope, so it was held, and equally to the benefit of the holy see, that any illegitimacy of birth could be entirely removed by the same authority. With regard to oaths, it was expressly laid down as the law, not only that any oath extorted by fear might be annulled by ecclesiastical authority, but that an oath disadvantageous to the church was essentially, and from the first, without any force, whether it were formally dispensed with or not.

As in the preceding ages new monasteries still continued to be founded, and new monastic orders to be introduced. As the more ancient orders had acquired so vast a share of the land and wealth of the country, and as the civil law began to place some restraints upon the disposition to make over estates to the church, it might have been difficult to procure endowments for the new orders, or to increase the number of the houses of the old ones: but these new orders were sworn to poverty, and were called mendicant friars. The first of this class of monks were the Dominicans or Black Friars, who were established in 1216; the second were the Franciscans or Grey Friars, established in 1223. Of many other orders which soon sprung up in imitation of these, and which carried still farther the principle of poverty and abnegation, none took a lasting root in England except the Carmelites or White Friars, and the Augustines. These mendicant orders were filled by youths and men drawn from the poorer classes of society; they had no lands, but begged from door to door for the food they ate and for the money which purchased their coarse dress, and built and supported their churches. Being of the people, they had always a close sympathy with the people. They pre-

sented the show, and to a great extent preserved, the reality of destitution and a hard rule of life. The very name of the mendicants was a standing proclamation of their sympathy with the humbler and more numerous classes, and their indifference to the pomp and pre-eminence which appeared to be so much coveted by the other monastic orders. They could preach to the populace in their own language, and meet them on something like a footing of equality; and whenever there was sickness or sorrow in the poor man's house, the Franciscan monk was sure to be there to give assistance or spiritual comfort. Their activity was prodigious: they preached and administered the sacraments far more frequently than the superior orders, whom they completely distanced in the race to win the favour of the multitude. Nor was it long before the Franciscans and Dominicans became distinguished for their learning and literature. Their numbers increased prodigiously.

All these troops of religious persons were bound in their whole interests and affections to the church, not only by their voluntary vows, but by the strong incorporating tie of celibacy, the practice of which, in conformity to what had certainly been the distinctly-declared law of the church from very early times, was now also enforced upon all descriptions of the clergy with a strictness greatly beyond what it had heretofore been found possible to maintain. In the reign of Henry I. it is stated that more than half the English clergy were married; but after the twelfth century, although a few occasional violations of the rule may have still occurred, celibacy was certainly the general practice as well as the law of the church.

As to the era of the Templars belonged the Crusades, so with the Mendicant Friars appeared the Inquisition, of which, indeed, St. Dominic is commonly reputed the founder, or at least the first suggester. The crusades which took place in this age were animated by little nothing of the old spirit. In the preceding Book we iced the fourth, which was undertaken in 1203, but h was eventually diverted from an expedition against

the infidels in Palestine to a war with the Greeks in Constantinople. Both this and the fifth crusade (A.D. 1218) were undertaken at the instigation of the energetic Innocent III.; but even his breath was impotent to blow up again into a blaze the dying fire. Of the sixth and seventh crusades, both conducted by St. Louis, the former (which set out in 1248) issued in the captivity, the latter (in 1270) in the death of the enthusiastic monarch: and ere the century had closed the Christians were driven for ever from their last narrow footing in the Holy Land. Meanwhile, in the midst of these abortive attempts to revive crusading in the East, a new species of crusades, as they were also called, was introduced in the West,—namely, military expeditions against the unconverted heathens in various parts—against the Jews, against the Albigenses, and other heretics; the object being in each case to extirpate indifferently either the misbelief or the misbelievers. Here, then, was exactly the object of the Inquisition, to which, therefore, these expeditions may be regarded as the natural transition from the original crusades. Both the crusades and the inquisition equally operated to uphold for their season the fabric of the papal ascendancy.

It was in the nature, however, of most, if not of all of these stimulants, to contribute something to the weakening, in the end, of the system upon which they apparently bestowed an immediate strength. Even the strict celibacy of the clergy, if it invigorated the internal organization of the church, tended to loosen its roots in the general soil of human society. Nor did the Mendicant orders themselves always coutinue to be the same manageable and subservient allies of the papal power which they were at first; when certain questions came to be debated between the church and the people, the constitution and position of these bodies inevitably led them to a great extent to side with the latter.

In the course of the period now under review some important measures were adopted against the more glaring and intolerable evils of this foreign tyranny. Even during the feeble reign of Henry III. considerable

progress was made in restraining the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical tribunals. "The judges of the king's courts," says Mr. Hallam, "had until that time been themselves principally ecclesiastics, and consequently tender of spiritual privileges. But now, abstaining from the exercise of temporal jurisdiction, in obedience to the strict injunctions of their canons, the clergy gave place to common lawyers, professors of a system very discordant from their own. These soon began to assert the supremacy of their jurisdiction, by issuing writs of prohibition whenever the ecclesiastical tribunals passed the boundaries which approved use had established."* In the next reign we find an archbishop of Canterbury unreservedly admitting the right of the King's Bench to issue prohibitions. The question was finally settled in the thirteenth year of Edward I., by the statute entitled 'Circumspecte agetis,' which, under the form of an order to the judges to respect the privileges of the spiritual jurisdiction, in fact restrained them, by express enumeration, within certain specified limits. Ten years before this, by the statute of Westminster the First, it had been provided that clerks charged with felony should be first indicted by solemn inquest in the King's Court, and that, being then delivered to the ordinary, if found guilty by such inquest, they should in no manner be let free without due purgation,—words which were afterwards construed to mean that their property, both real and personal, should be forfeited to the crown.

In the seventh year of this reign, also, the making over of lands to religious persons or societies was for the first time effectually restrained by what is commonly called the first statute of mortmain.

By another statute, passed in the thirty-fifth year of his reign, Edward prohibited all abbots, priors, or other religious persons of whatsoever condition, from henceforth sending any money, under any name or pretence whatsoever, as a payment to their superiors beyond the sea. It is also stated that one of this king's subjects having obtained a bull of excommunication against another,

* Middle Ages.

Edward ordered him to be executed as a traitor, according to the ancient law, and was only induced to commute the punishment into banishment out of the realm on a representation made by the chancellor and treasurer, on their knees, that the law in question had not for a long time been put in execution.*

One of the principal charges made by the parliament against Edward II., on his deposition, was, that he had given allowance to the bulls of the see of Rome. "But Edward III.," says Blackstone, "was of a temper extremely different; and to remedy these inconveniences first by gentle means, he and his nobility wrote an expostulation to the pope; but receiving a menacing and contemptuous answer, withal acquainting him that the emperor, and also the King of France, had lately submitted to the holy see, the king replied, that if both the emperor and the French king should take the pope's part, he was ready to give battle to them both in defence of the liberties of the crown. Hereupon more sharp and penal laws were devised against provisors, which enact, severally, that the court of Rome shall not present or collate to any bishopric or living in England; and that whoever disturbs any patron in the presentation to a living by virtue of a papal provision, such provisor shall pay fine and ransom to the king at his will, and be imprisoned till he renounces such provision; and the same punishment is inflicted on such as cite the king, or any of his subjects, to answer in the court of Rome. And when the holy see resented these proceedings, and Pope Urban V. attempted to revise the vassalage and annual rent to which King John had subjected his kingdom, it was unanimously agreed by all the estates of the realm in parliament assembled, 40 Edw. III., that King John's donation was null and void, being without the concurrence of parliament and contrary to his coronation oath; and all the temporal nobility and commons engaged, that if the pope should endeavour, by process or otherwise, to

* See Blackstone, by Coleridge, iv. 110, and the authorities there quoted.

maintain these usurpations, they would resist and withstand him with all their power."* By subsequent statutes, passed in the reign of Richard II., the power of the Pope in presenting to benefices was still farther restricted and the presentation of aliens forbidden. Finally, by the famous statute commonly called the Statute of Præmunire,† passed in 1392, it was "ordained and established," in still more comprehensive terms, that any person purchasing in the court of Rome or elsewhere, any provisions, excommunications, bulls, or other instruments whatsoever, and any person bringing such instruments within the realm, or receiving them, or making notification of them, should be put out of the king's protection; that their lands and goods should be forfeited; and that they themselves, if they could be found, should be attached and brought before the king and council, there to answer for their offence. The popes maintained the struggle for some time; but the king and the parliament were resolute and steady in their resistance. The victory obtained by the civil over the ecclesiastical power, in this great battle, was complete.

While the king, lords, and commons were repelling the encroachments of the papal power by the statutes of provisors and præmunire, a great reformer with his disciples was shaking the church at once in its doctrine, its discipline, and the whole fabric of its polity. This was John de Wycliffe. He was born about the year 1324, in the parish from which he takes his name, in Yorkshire; and having previously distinguished himself at Oxford by an extraordinary proficiency in almost every branch of learning then cultivated, he had so early as 1356, in a treatise entitled 'Of the Last Age of the Church,' assailed the high-flown notions then commonly held on the subject of the authority of the pope. A fe

* See Blackstone, iv. 111.

† This statute (the 16th Rich. II. c. 5), and also the o fence against which it is directed, are so called from th words "Præmunire," or "Præmonere facias," used to com mand a citation of the party in the writ for the execution this and the preceding statutes respecting provisions.

years later he began to direct his attacks against the Mendicant orders; but it was not long before the church in general, and all orders in it, became the subject of his unsparing and indiscriminate invective. In one of his works we find him enumerating twelve classes of religious persons, beginning with the pope and ending with the mendicant friars, all of whom he denounces as anti-Christs and the proctors of Satan. This general corruption of the church Wycliffe traced chiefly to the profusion of wealth with which it had been endowed in later times: his favourite topic was the recommendation of the poverty of the first teachers of the Gospel; and by his own example, and that of a body of disciples whom he called his 'poor priests,' and who, like himself, went about preaching his doctrines barefoot and clothed in the coarsest attire, he gave the strongest evidence of the reality of his convictions, and made a prodigious impression upon the popular mind. The coincidence of many of his views, also, with the objects of one of the political parties which divided the state, obtained for him the countenance and support of some of the greatest of the nobility. A paralytic stroke terminated the stormy career of Wycliffe on the 31st of October, 1384, at his rectory of Lutterworth, in Leicestershire. During his life, those of his novel views that made the greatest apparent impression and progress were those respecting the constitution of the church, and the subject of ecclesiastical authority. When he latterly began to attack the doctrines of the church, he seems to have met, in the first instance, with less success even among the common people, and his patrons among the higher ranks generally declined supporting him in that new course. But here, also, it was eventually found that he had awakened a spirit of inquiry by his preaching and his writings which did not die when he himself was taken from among men. What the opinions of Wycliffe really were on many points of theology has been matter of much disputation; and his own writings, voluminous as they are, seem scarcely to afford the materials for a complete and consistent exposition of his creed: his views varied

as he prosecuted his inquiries; and much that he has written is so obscure as to defy any very precise interpretation. But, whatever became of some of his notions, the principle of his mode of investigating the truths of Christianity took root and flourished. Wycliffe's fundamental position was, that the knowledge of the revealed will of God was to be found in the Scriptures only, and, moreover, was to be found there, not by the church alone, or its recognised heads, but by every private individual who should earnestly and humbly address himself to the search. English translations of many parts, perhaps of the whole, of the Scriptures existed before the time of Wycliffe, but they appear to have been entirely unknown to the great body of the people. In his writings and discourses the paramount authority of the Holy Books was inculcated in the most explicit terms; whatever he advanced he endeavoured to rest upon their testimony; and he at once familiarized the popular ear to many passages of the word of God to which it had never before listened, and excited, by these quotations, the anxious curiosity of men to obtain access to the whole of the sacred volume. It is Wycliffe's highest title to the gratitude of his countrymen and to everlasting renown, and at the same time the most conclusive vindication that now remains of the sincerity of his professions, as well as our best evidence of the true learning and laborious industry of the man, that, like his great successor Luther, he devoted several years of his life to the completion of a translation of both the Old and New Testaments into his native tongue. This is the oldest English version of the Scriptures that is now extant,—the next that has come down to us after the partial Saxon version attributed to Alfred. Many copies of this translation are said to have been dispersed by the care of the author and his disciples; and the effects which it had produced became very perceptible not many years after the death of Wycliffe, when, under the new name of 'Lollards,' the inheritors of his opinions awoke the cry of reformation.

BOOK V.

THE PERIOD FROM THE ACCESSION OF HENRY IV. TO THE END OF THE REIGN OF RICHARD III.

A.D. 1399—1485

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

ENGLAND.

1399 Henry IV.
1413 Henry V.
1422 Henry VI.
1461 Edward IV.
1470 Henry VI. rest.
1471 Edward IV. restored.
1483 Edward V.
1483 Richard III.

SCOTLAND.

1406 James I.
1437 James II.
1460 James III.

FRANCE.

1422 Charles VII.
1461 Louis XI.
1483 Charles VIII.

CASTILE AND LEON.

1406 John II.
1450 Henry IV.
1474 Isabella and Ferdinand.

GERMANY.

1400 Rupert.
1411 Sigismund.
1438 Albert II.
1440 Frederick III.

POPES.

1404 Innocent VII.
and Benedict XIII.
1406 Gregory XII.
and Benedict XIII.
1409 Alexander V., Gregory XII., and Benedict XIII.
1410 John XXIII., Gregory XII., and Benedict XIII.
1417 Martin V.
1431 Eugene IV.
1447 Nicholas V.
1455 Calixtus III.
1458 Pius II.
1464 Paul II.
1471 Sixtus IV.
1484 Innocent VIII.

CHAPTER I.

Henry IV., surnamed Bolingbroke.

Having been seated on the throne of England by the Archbishop, on Tuesday, the Feast of St. Jerome the Doctor, the 30th of September, 1399, Henry immediately proceeded to exercise the royal authority, and to fill those offices which had become vacant by the removal of Richard. By that event the power of the justices, sheriffs, and other officers ceased, "and, therefore," in the language of parliament, "lest justice might be delayed, to the grievance of the people, the present king named and appointed his principal officers and justices, who took the usual oaths." But the authority of the parliament itself, which had been summoned in the name of King Richard, also expired with his deposition; and at this critical moment it was alike indispensable for Henry that he should have a parliament assembled, and that it should be composed of his friends. He therefore contrived that the present members should be retained, by not allowing sufficient time for the election and return of fresh members. He forthwith directed writs to be issued returnable in six days, and proclamation to be made at the same time for the parliament to meet for business on the sixth day; assigning as a plausible reason for the shortness of this summons, that it was only for "the profit of the kingdom, and especially to spare the fatigues and expenses of his lieges, and in order that the grievances of the people might have a more speedy remedy."*

The king then rose from his throne, and "beholding the people with a cheerful countenance," he

* Rot. Parl.

parted, and on the same day he gave a splendid banquet in the Whitehall to the nobles and the clergy, who attended in great numbers. On the following day, the 1st of October, a deputation waited upon Richard, late king, in the Tower, and there William Thyrning, justiciary, for himself and fellow procurators, in the name of the states and all the people, notified to Richard the acceptance of his resignation, and the cause and form of his deposition, and then renounced all homage and fealty to him. The parliament met on Monday, the 6th; and the representatives of the commons seem to have been to a man the same individuals that had been summoned six weeks before in the name of Richard. On the Monday following, October the 13th, the Feast of St. Edmund the Confessor, and the anniversary of the day on which he had gone into exile, Henry was crowned with the usual ceremonies in Westminster Abbey.*

The parliament was in the best of humours, and the commons more especially went hand in hand with the new king. Many of the obnoxious acts of the late reign were instantly repealed. In the lords the most violent altercations soon ensued. The peers who had appealed the Duke of Gloucester of treason were called to account; but these chivalrous lords were not ashamed to take up the same plea which had been used by the judges in the preceding reign: they said they acted through fear, and sealed that deed under compulsion of Richard. They added, that they were not more guilty in prosecuting Gloucester than the rest of the house was in condemning him on their appeal. There was scarcely a lord present but had been involved in the inexplicable intrigues of the last twelve years. There was plenty of ground for recrimination, and the opportunity was not lost; the terms liar and traitor resounded from every corner of the house; forty gauntlets were thrown upon the floor, as the pledges of battles in the lists. A timid or an unreflecting king would have been lost in this perilous storm, which the firm and crafty Henry managed to subdue.

* Rot. Parl.—Rymer.

The appellants were let off with the forfeiture of the titles and estates they had received from Richard as a reward for their services against his uncle Gloucester. Several excellent statutes were enacted in this first parliament; treason was again reduced to the limits prescribed under Edward III.; appeals of treason in parliament, of which such an abuse had been made, were abolished. Another great measure was the establishing a law, that the power of parliament should in no case be delegated to a standing commission.

On the 23rd day of October the Earl of Northumberland presented himself in the lords to deliver a royal message, and then the Archbishop of Canterbury rose, and charged the lords spiritual and temporal to keep whatever resolution they should adopt on this present message a profound and solemn secret. After this Northumberland spoke: he requested their advice as to the mode in which Richard should be treated in time to come; for his master Henry, he said, was resolved that, happen what might, the life of the deposed sovereign should be preserved—and we believe that he here expressed Henry's real wish. The lords answered unanimously that Richard ought to be carried *secretly* to some castle; there to be placed in custody of trusty officers, who should prevent his holding any communication with his former friends and servants. This was the sanction Henry required; and his cousin was privately removed from the Tower accordingly. In the first instance he was conveyed to Leeds Castle, in Kent; but it appears that he was subsequently removed by night from one castle to another, as had been practised with his great-grandfather, Edward II.*

In the course of this same parliament Henry's eldest son was created Prince of Wales, Duke of Guienne, Lancaster, and Cornwall, and Earl of Chester; and he was declared heir-apparent to the throne of England. From the important consequences which arose out of it we must sketch the genealogy of an otherwise quiet and unimport-

* Rot. Parl.

ant personage. The young Earl of March, whom Richard had declared his lawful heir, was sprung from the Duke of Clarence, the elder brother of John of Gaunt, Henry's father. Lionel, the said Duke of Clarence, died without issue male, and his possessions and pretensions fell to his daughter Philippa, who married Roger Mortimer, earl of March, the representative of the paramour of Isabella of France, and the murderer of Edward II., the great-grandfather of this bride Philippa. Many years after the execution and attainder of the notorious Mortimer, his honours and estates were restored to his son by Edward III., and from that period they had remained in the family. From the marriage of Philippa of Clarence proceeded another Roger Mortimer, who was lord-lieutenant of Ireland during a part of Richard's reign, and who had been killed in that country. This last Roger left two sons, of whom Edmund, the elder of the two, was indisputably heir to the crown by right descent at the time of the deposition of Richard. But this Edmund Mortimer, earl of March, &c., was only eight or nine years of age: —the persons most attached to legitimacy would pause in those times, and in the circumstances of the country, ere they declared for such a child, escorted and surrounded by the horrors of a long minority. In fact, his right was scarcely allowed the weight of a feather: not only was it not discussed, but the very existence of the boy was passed over in silence by lords, commons, priests, and lawyers; and if it occurred to any of the people at that time, the fact is not mentioned. Henry had got possession both of Edmund Mortimer and his younger brother, and he lodged them in Windsor Castle. Some years later the name of Edmund was for the first time brought forward by the insurgents in the north. In other hands the lives of these two captives might have been in danger; but Henry treated them both with great kindness, although they remained in honourable prison till the day of his death. When the claim of the Mortimers is again revived, it is as transmitted by Anne, the sister of this Edmund, who, by espousing Richard earl of Cambridge, the second son of Edmund duke of York, gave rise to

the claims of the House of York, and was the innocent cause of the dreadful wars of the Roses.

Henry, on ascending the throne, was the idol of the people, but he soon found that he had desperate enemies among the nobility. The lords appellants, as they are called, who had been but slightly punished in parliament (one of them, the Earl of Salisbury, was not punished at all), resolved to take a fearful vengeance. During the sitting of parliament they held secret meetings, in the apartments of the Abbot of Westminster, and there, it appears, they formed a plot for restoring Richard and murdering Henry. About a month after the dissolution, they proclaimed a tournament to be held at Oxford on the 3rd day of January, and the Earl of Huntingdon, brother-in-law to Henry, invited the king to attend. The invitation was accepted, and then a band of desperate men were leagued to make a rush on the king, and kill him and his sons during the jousts. The king had kept his Christmas in Windsor Castle; the conspirators were at Oxford: no suspicion was excited—the blow seemed certain; but on the appointed day one of their number, the Earl of Rutland, eldest son of the Duke of York and first cousin to Henry, who had had the principal hand in the plot, was missing. The day of the tournament wore away, and, as neither Rutland nor the king appeared, they were forced to conclude that they had been betrayed. At this juncture, however, they yet hoped to retrieve themselves by a bold and rapid movement. They knew that Henry had been living at Windsor with only a feeble guard, and that very evening they set out from Oxford, with five hundred horse, to surprise him in the castle. The castle, indeed, they surprised early the next morning, but Henry was not there; receiving timely warning, he had gone to London, where he had already issued writs for their apprehension as traitors, and was at that moment collecting troops to crush them. Stupified by their double disappointment, the conspirators lingered about Windsor doing nothing; but the next day the approach of Henry at the head of an immense force, chiefly composed of volunteers from the city of London, roused

them from their lethargy, and then they fled to arm their several retainers. The Earl of Huntingdon rode for Essex and the Fens, but the other chiefs retired towards the west, proclaiming King Richard in all the towns through which they passed. But the popular feeling was everywhere against them, and they were destroyed to a man, without any co-operation of the king or the forces he had raised. In this manner the spontaneous rage of the people relieved Henry from the trouble and from the odium which generally attend state trials when they are at all prolonged. He, however, ordered that a few prisoners of inferior rank should be tried by the common courts. Ferriby and Maudelein, two monks or priests, who had been chaplains to Richard, were executed in London; and two knights, Thomas Blount and Bennet Sely, were executed at Oxford. Here Henry stopped the red hand of the law and of private vengeance; for he declared that man a traitor that should put another to death in this quarrel.

But the greatest of the victims sacrificed by this furious attempt of the lords appellants, was the ex-king himself. About three weeks after that day on which it had been arranged that Henry should be murdered at Oxford, it was known that Richard had died at Pontefract. Even more than the usual mystery is heaped upon this horrid transaction; and, after all that has been said and written upon the subject, little positive information can be added to what is said by the attached dependant and friend of his family—old Froissart. "How Richard died, and by what means, I could not tell when I wrote this chronicle." The least horrible supposition is, that by order of Henry and those who acted with him,—that is to say, the greatest nobles and prelates in the land,—he was despatched by assassins; the most horrible, and which, we grieve to say, is the more probable, is, that he was starved to death.

The details were repeated to King Charles of France, and they so deeply affected him, that they brought on a fit of insanity—the worst of all maladies, to which he had been liable at intervals for more than six years. This

king's greatest anxiety was for his young daughter, Isabella,—dethroned and left defenceless in a foreign country in the eleventh year of her age; but his uncles, who, owing to his frequent maladies, had much more power than he, and his ministers and courtiers generally, seemed to have rejoiced at the opportunity afforded of falling upon the English possessions. The Duke of Burgundy thought that, at all events, the French ought to attempt to derive some profit out of what had happened; and without any announcement to the *de facto* government of England —which it suited the project in hand to consider as a usurpation—he fell upon that fragment of Guienne where the English flag still floated; and the Duke of Bourbon at the same time marched with an army as far as Agen, whence he issued manifestos promising the most favourable conditions to such of the "good towns" as would voluntarily unite with the kingdom of France. None of these towns were so important as Bordeaux, the birthplace of Richard; and there, at first, a sympathy for the unfortunate sovereign seemed likely to second the views of the French. In a spirit of exaggeration, natural to their warm imagination, the people of Bordeaux swore by the Lord, that Richard was the best man in his kingdom, and that the Londoners had traitorously worked his ruin. But their ardour cooled when they came to consider the propositions of the Duke of Bourbon; and their interests made them prefer the government of the destroyer of Richard to that of the beggared and rapacious King of France with his merciless uncles. The great enterprise of the Duke of Burgundy, and the march of the Duke of Bourbon, failed completely.* France was not in a condition to declare war: she had been drained of her money; the king's council was nothing but a scene of discord; and Charles, who had recovered his sens— for a season, would not permit hostilities while his daug ter was yet in England. The new King of England, his side, was anxious to avoid a war until he should

* A. Thierry, Hist. de Guyenne.—Barante, Hist. Ducs Bourgogne.—Froissart.

more firmly seated on his throne: he sent an embassy to France soon after his coronation, and he gave the most flattering reception to the Bishop of Meaux, the Sire de Hugueville, and Masle Blanchet, who came over as ambassadors from Charles, to request the restoration of his daughter, together with all her jewels, and the sum of 200,000 francs of gold, which had been remitted to Richard in part payment of her dower. Henry attempted to remove all demands and difficulties, by proposing a marriage between Isabella and his eldest son; but Charles rejected this alliance. The great difficulty on this side did not so much regard the young lady as the money: Henry was poor, and did not like to risk his necessary popularity by demanding grants from parliament, and he consulted the Universities, to know whether, by law, the personal obligations of Richard were binding on his successor. The reply of the learned was not such as he expected; but still with the 200,000 francs of gold he could not or would not part, and the French ambassadors returned with the assurance, that the existing truce should be respected, and that Madame Isabella should be restored, but without either the money or the jewels. These negotiations lasted many months. Charles, eager to get back his daughter, consented to receive her with only her jewels (if the French are correct Henry kept part of these), and to reserve the question of the money for some future discussion. Isabella was carried over to Calais and delivered with great formality to the Duke of Burgundy. As soon as she was safe at Paris, the Duke of Orleans, forgetting the embarrassed state of the government, would have declared war to avenge her wrongs; but the Duke of Burgundy, who was then the more powerful of the two, would not consent to this dangerous measure. Hence there arose a furious quarrel between the rival dukes, and a fearful tragedy which soon followed in France was probably, in part, owing to this altercation.

Henry well knew that the unpopularity of Richard had been in part owing to the conviction of a warlike people, that he dreaded the dangers and hated the fatigues of the

field. The conquest of Scotland was still a popular idea, and the king determined to illustrate the beginning of his reign by an expedition into that country. He was, no doubt, greatly encouraged by the distracted state of affairs at the Scottish court. King Robert was old and weak; his eldest son David, earl of Rothsay, though brave, and not without abilities, was dissipated, imprudent, and reckless; he had offended some of the greatest of the nobles, and the Duke of Albany, his uncle, who acted as regent during the king's sickness, aspired to the crown, and was known to be a desperate and remorseless man. Henry's great difficulty, however, was again about money. Popular as the war might be, he dreaded imposing new taxes for its expenses. He preferred having recourse to the old system of feudal service, which, though long out of use, had never been formally abolished. With the consent of a great council, composed exclusively of the lords, spiritual and temporal, it was resolved that the great churchmen should contribute a tenth of their incomes, and that the lay lords should march with their retainers, and serve at their own charges. Henry next summoned all persons enjoying fees or pensions granted by Edward III., by his son, the Black Prince, by Richard II., or by his own father, the Duke of Lancaster, to meet him in arms at York, under the penalty of forfeiture. Henry began with a high tone, despatching heralds to command King Robert and the great barons of Scotland to meet him at Edinburgh, and there do him homage for that crown and for the estates they held in England. The Duke of Rothsay went to Edinburgh, but it was to fight, not to make submission; and Henry was completely foiled in his attempt to take the castle. He soon found that his unpaid army was badly supplied with provisions; and, in the end, he was forced by famine to make a rapid retreat from the neighbourhood of Edinburgh to the borders.*

During his absence in the north a most formidable insurrection—one which was never wholly subdued during

* Rymer.—Fordun.

his vigorous reign—broke out in the west under the guidance of the famous Owen Glendower, the most remarkable man of that age. Owen had been an esquire in the household of Richard II., and he retained an affectionate recollection of his old master. After the revolution, he retired to his native district of Glendourdy, and there his loyalty was quickened by an attack made on his property by the great Lord Grey de Ruthyn. He petitioned parliament for redress, and induced an influential member of the House of Lords to take up his cause. But when his petition was rudely rejected, he resolved to take the law into his own hands, and, casting aside the pen, he grasped the sword. He pretended to be lineally descended from the last of the native princes of Wales; and none of the Welsh disputed his claim to an honour which gave him a wonderful degree of influence. To this ascendancy was added another influence probably quite as powerful on the minds of the superstitious mountaineers. Before becoming a courtly squire, Owen had studied in the English universities, and had afterwards lived in the inns of court as an "apprentice of the law." With the extent of his literary and scientific acquirements we are not acquainted; it was probably not inconsiderable for those times; it was certainly quite enough to make a great impression among the Welsh: nor was it very extraordinary at a period when great book-learning was pretty generally associated with ideas of magic, that those poor peasants should set down Owen Glendower as a magician, or as one having intercourse with the invisible world of spirits. Availing himself of the opportunity afforded by the king's absence in Scotland, Owen collected a brave band, drove the intruders from his property, and took some of Lord Grey de Ruthyn's people prisoners. When Henry returned, he declared Owen an outlaw; and then Owen, speaking no longer about a few acres of land, boldly declared himself the lawful sovereign of all Wales. Without criticising his genealogy or right, nearly every Welshman in England, whether in the capital or in the provinces, threw up his business and occupation and returned to his native

mountains. Henry, who was never wanting in decision and activity, marched with an army into Wales, confidently hoping to crush the insurrection at once; but the clerk and esquire displayed the abilities of a general: he avoided an action, led the English long marches through the most difficult and most desolate parts of the country, and when Henry was obliged to retire (again, as it appears, from want of provisions), his fame and the confidence of the people were greatly heightened. The king returned in a few months, but with no better success; and a third campaign, made in the following year, was a complete failure.*

A.D. 1402.—Henry's mind, however, was at this time irritated by many insults proceeding from very different quarters; and his attention was distracted by plots and rumours in England, and hostile demonstrations in Scotland and in France.

Walleran of Luxemburgh, count of Ligny and St. Pol, who had married a sister or half-sister of the deposed Richard, was not strong enough to be very formidable; but he pursued a course well calculated to vex and even to degrade King Henry. Pretending that it was his especial duty to avenge the death of his brother-in-law, he sent his heralds into England with a strange defiance and declaration of war.† This curious document—the defiance of a petty prince, who assumed the double character of vassal of France, and independent prince of the empire—was dated the 10th of February, 1402; but his limited means prevented for some time his acting upon his threat, and when he took the sea, his operations resembled those of a pirate.

In England reports were industriously circulated that Richard was still alive, and that, having escaped into Scotland, he was about to return at the head of an arm to assert his rights. Associations were formed in vario parts of the kingdom to welcome his return, and to c operate with this force. When a notion of this sort on gains ground, it is proof even against ocular demonst

* Walsingham.—Rymer. † Monstrelet.

tion. We are of opinion that few or none of the leaders were ever deceived, but it appears certain that many of the people really believed that Richard was alive. Henry issued several successive proclamations against the fabricators of false reports; and in the spring of 1402, Sir Roger Clarendon, a natural son of the Black Prince, nine Franciscan friars, and several other persons, were executed as traitors, for asserting that the late king was living. In the month of June, the Scottish army, indeed, crossed the borders; but there was no Richard with it, nor did the Scots pretend that he was coming. After doing considerable mischief, this army was defeated at Nesbit Moor. The victorious commander on this occasion was not an Englishman, but a disaffected Scot. The imprudent Duke of Rothsay, heir-apparent to the Scottish throne, had been contracted in marriage to Elizabeth, the daughter of George of Dunbar, the great Earl of March, whose estates and commands lay near the borders: in spite of his solemn engagement, the prince not only refused the damsel, but married Mariell, the daughter of the Earl of Douglas, the hereditary enemy of the Earls of March. The Earl of March withdrew to his almost impregnable castle of Dunbar, gave up his fealty, did homage to the King of England, and joined in the closest confederacy with the Percies of Northumberland. By his means the road to Edinburgh had been laid open to Henry in 1400, and now, after having assisted the Percies in several inroads or forays they had made into Scotland, he defeated the Scottish force at Nesbit Moor. Earl Douglas, who had got a grant of the estates of the Earl of March, immediately prepared to drive him to his ruin, and to revenge the loss of Nesbit Moor. Ten thousand warriors followed the banner of the Douglas, which flew like a meteor from the Lothians to the Tweed, from the Tweed to the Tyne. Having carried terror and devastation as far as the walls of Newcastle, without finding any force to oppose him, he turned back loaded with plunder, and marched in a careless manner towards the Tweed. During his advance to the south, the Earl of Northumberland and his son, the

Hotspur Percy, with his deadly enemy the Earl of March, gathered a numerous army in his rear. Douglas, hampered by his spoil, came suddenly upon this force, which was posted near Milfield, in the northern part of Northumberland. He perceived a strong position between the two armies called Homildon Hill, and he had the good sense to seize it. The English, with the people of the Earl of March, occupied the ridges of a neighbouring hill, but they left it to advance to the assault; and Harry Percy (or Hotspur) was about to charge up the hill of Homildon, when March caught his bridle, and advised him to stay where he was, and begin the fight with his archers. The advice was taken: the English bowmen advanced to the roots of the hill, and shot upwards with wonderful force. Instead of charging at first, as Bruce did the English archers at Bannockburn, Douglas did nothing, but left his people drawn up in ranks on the face of the hill, where they presented one general mark to the enemy. Scarcely an English arrow flew in vain; the Scots fell in heaps without fighting. At last Douglas made up his mind to charge down the hill. As Douglas descended the English bowmen retired a little, but they pulled their bows as they withdrew, and, presently halting again, they sent a flight of arrows so "sharp and strong," that no armour could withstand it; and as he was spurring forward, the Douglas himself was wounded in five different places. He fell from his horse,—was made prisoner,—and then a complete rout of the Scots ensued. Eight hundred of them remained on the field, and five hundred, it is said, were drowned in the Tweed. Besides Douglas, whose principal wound deprived him of an eye, Murdach, the son of the Duke of Albany, the Earls of Moray and Angus, two barons, eighty knights (among whom were some Frenchmen), and many other persons of rank, were made prisoners by the Percies. Livingston of Calendar, Ramsay of Dalhousie, Walter Sinclair, Roger Gordon, and Walter Scott; were in the number of the more illustrious slain.

Such was the famous battle of Homildon Hill, which

was fought on Holyrood-day, the 14th of September, 1402.* While it was fighting Henry himself was engaged much less successfully in Wales, where Owen Glendower had recently gained two splendid victories. In the end of September the king advanced from Shrewsbury; but though he divided his forces into three separate armies, which poured into Wales from three different points, he could never find his active and cunning enemy. Henry at last withdrew, convinced, it is said, that Owen Glendower was a mighty necromancer. On his retreat, Owen marched in triumph through the country, where all true Welshmen now acknowledged him as their legitimate sovereign.†

Nor was this failure the only annoyance which Henry was now suffering. In the month of August of this same year he received a challenge from the Duke of Orleans, the brother of the French king, and uncle of the lady Isabella. This prince had formerly been the bosom friend and sworn brother of Henry of Bolingbroke; and during his exile in France, encouraged Henry to dethrone Richard, the husband of his niece. But the Duke of Orleans then acted rather out of spite and jealousy of his uncle, the Duke of Burgundy, the *de facto* regent of France, than from any steady affection for Henry; and he was a man accustomed to change principles and systems almost as often as his clothes. His first challenge did not state any grievance whatever: he merely said that he deplored the state of inactivity and neglect of the use of arms, to which he and other princes of France were condemned,—that he was anxious to gain honour and good renown,—and that, therefore, he wanted to fight, with a hundred French knights armed with lance, battle-axe, sword, and dagger, but without any bodkins, hooks, points, bearded darts, razors, needles, or poisoned darts, against King Henry and a hundred English knights.‡ The King of England received the heralds in what was considered a very scurvy manner;

* Rot. Parl.—Rymer.—Fordun.—Otterbourne.
† Walsing.—Otterb. ‡ Monstrelet.

and, contrary to the noble usages of chivalry, he made them no presents. His answer, which was not returned till the 1st of January, 1403, expressed astonishment at the receipt of such a challenge during a time of truce, and from a sworn brother: he told the duke that he annulled his letters of alliance and brotherhood; and reminded him that he, as a king, was not bound to answer any such challenge except from kings. "As to the idleness of which you complain," said Henry, with a tone of solemnity which looks, however, very like mockery, "it is true that we are less employed in arms and in seeking honour than our noble ancestors: but God is great; and, when it pleases him, we shall follow their footsteps." At the end of his answer he said that he should go to the Continent when he pleased, or when the affairs of his people required; and that he should take with him such knights as he pleased, and that *then*, if he chose, his adversary might come and meet him; he, on his part, hoping, by the "aid of God, our Lady, and my Lord St. George," not to let him depart without a sufficient answer. Stung to the quick by the whole tone of this letter, the Duke of Orleans made a most intemperate reply, in which he taxed Henry with the high crimes of rebellion, usurpation, and murder; and he now stated what he chose to consider his personal grievance. "How could you suffer my much redoubted lady, madam the Queen of England, to return to our country desolate by the loss of her lord, despoiled of her dower, and of all the property she carried hence on her marriage? He who seeks to gain honour must support her cause. Are not noble knights bound in all circumstances to defend the rights of widows and virgins of a virtuous life, such as my niece was known to lead? And as I am so nearly related to her, acquitting myself towards God and towards her [illegible] relation, I reply that, to spare the effusion of human blo I will gladly meet you in single combat, or with a number you may please." This curious letter was dat in March, 1403; and Henry, though occupied by mu more critical affairs, was provoked to return an answ almost immediately. After expressing an anxiety

his own honour, he accused the duke of taking a frivolous turn,—of wishing for a war of words, a contest worthy of minstrels. "In regard to the dignity we hold," wrote Henry, "it appears that you do not approve of the manner in which we have obtained it. Certes, we are greatly astonished at this, for we made you fully acquainted with our designs before we departed out of France; at which time you approved of our voyage, and promised us your assistance, if we required it, against our very dear lord and cousin, the King Richard, whom God absolve! We wanted not your assistance; and we hold your approbation or disapprobation in no account, since God and our people, the free inhabitants of this kingdom, have approved of our right: this is a sufficient reply to such as would question our right." The charge of murder he repelled with the most indignant language. "With regard to that passage in your letter where you speak of the death of our very dear cousin and lord, whom God absolve! saying 'God knows how it happened, and *by whom* that death was done,' we know not with what intent such words are used; but if you mean to say that his death was caused by our order, or with our consent, we say that you lie, and will lie foully as often as you shall say so; as the true God knows, whom we call to witness: offering, as a royal prince ought, our body against yours in single combat, if you will or dare to prove it." The quarrel rested here: the King of England and the Duke of Orleans never met; and the latter appears to have been completely defeated in this war of words.*

But while the Duke of Orleans had been gasconading in France, the Percies of Northumberland, who more than other men had contributed to place him on the throne, raised their banner against Henry, and did their best to dethrone him. For services such as the Earl of Northumberland had rendered a high price is always expected, and that chieftain seems to have set no limit to his demands. Henry, on the other side, was far too wary and politic to give any great increase of power to a

* Monstrelet.—Monk of St. Denis.—Rymer.

warlike family which was already but too powerful. His rewards, however, had neither been few now inconsiderable, and he seems to have counted on the gratitude and fidelity of the Percies. The greatest of our poets, and the historians he followed, err in attributing the insurrection to their resentment at the king's order forbidding them to set at liberty or put to ransom the prisoners taken in the battle of Homildon Hill. Henry reserved to the captors all the rights of ransom; and, as a reward for his services at Homildon Hill, granted to the Earl of Northumberland several broad manors, together with most of the lands in England which had belonged to his captive the Earl of Douglas.* The Percies, however, really felt themselves aggrieved, not because they were not allowed to dispose of the captives they had in their own hands, but because they were not permitted to ransom a friend who was in the hands of one who was, at least for the time, an enemy. Sir Edmund Mortimer, who had been taken by Owen Glendower, was uncle to the young Earl of March, who, as far as the right of birth went, was lawful King of England. Henry, who kept the nephew in close custody, was supposed to bear no good-will to the uncle; and when Mortimer's relations requested permission to ransom him by the payment of a sum of money to Glendower, he refused, although he had previously permitted the friends of the Lord Grey of Ruthyn, who had been taken in battle in Wales, to redeem him by paying the Welshman ten thousand marks. Henry Percy showed great irritation at the king's harsh refusal, for the sister of Sir Edmund Mortimer was *his* wife; and his father, the Earl of Northumberland, and his uncle, the Earl of Worcester, took up his quarrel on this head. Scroop, the Archbishop of York (a brother of the favourite minister of Richard II.) advised these disaffected nobles to treat the king as a usurper, and to draw their swords for the rightful heir,—that is, for the boy, the Earl of March. A formidable conspiracy ensued; and the conspirators did not scrupple to call in the assistance of the enemies of their country

* Rymer.

They formed a close league with Owen Glendower, who thereupon gave his daughter in marriage to his prisoner Mortimer, and promised to co-operate with twelve thousand Welsh: they liberated Earl Douglas without ransom, on condition of his joining them with all his vassals: they sent ambassadors to the Kings of France and Scotland, to solicit their aid.

Douglas, true to his engagement, crossed the borders with a considerable force. The Earl of Northumberland being "sore sick," Hotspur took the command of the army, and marched towards North Wales to join Glendower. On his road, his uncle, the Earl of Worcester, joined him, with a great body of archers from Cheshire. Expecting the insurgents would make the country near the borders the scene of the war, Henry marched to the north as far as Burton-upon-Trent; but there he learned the direction Hotspur was taking, and, striking off to the west, he so pressed his march, that he reached Shrewsbury, and threw himself between the Welsh and the men of the North. Glendower did not appear, but the king was scarcely in the town, when his scouts informed him that the earls, with banners displayed, were close to Shrewsbury, and that their light horse were already skirmishing with part of his forces. Enraged, but not disheartened, at finding the Welsh had not come up, Hotspur halted not far from the king's army, which issued out and encamped beyond the eastern gate of the town.* By this time night was approaching, and it was resolved to defer the battle till the morrow. In the course of the night the confederates sent the king their defiance. This instrument ran in the names of the Percies and of none others: and it was very long, logical, circumstantial, and insolent, charging Henry with perjury, usurpation, murder, tyranny, &c., &c. "For which causes," they concluded, "we do mortally defy thee, thy fautors and accomplices, as common traitors and destroyers of the realm, and invaders, oppressors, and confounders of the very true and right heir to the crown of England and France; and we intend to prove

* Walsing.—Otterb.—Rymer.

it this day by force of arms, Almighty God blessing us."*

The king could use his pen almost as well as his sword; but he did not think the present a proper time for argument and refutation. Before matters had come to this crisis, he had offered the Percies a safe conduct to meet him at his court, where he was ready to discuss all questions with them; but this offer they had treated with contempt; and he now told them that he had no time to lose in writing, but that he would "by dint of sword and fierce battle," prove that their quarrel was false and feigned; and he added, that he doubted not that God would give him the victory over false and foresworn traitors. At an early hour on the following day—which was the vigil of St. Mary Magdalen, the 21st of July—Hotspur drew up his men in front of the king. The two armies were nearly equal, consisting each of about 14,000 men. Many years had passed since England had seen her sons thus arrayed against each other; and there was now a short pause, as if the combatants felt this. Henry even sent the Abbot of Shrewsbury to propose an amicable arrangement; but his opponents rejected these offers. Then suddenly he bade the trumpets blow: those on the king's side cried, "Saint George for us!" their adversaries cried, "Esperance, Percy!" and then the armies joined battle. The first charge was led by Hotspur and Douglas, two old rivals for military glory, and esteemed two of the best lances in Christendom. This charge was irresistible; a part of the king's guards were dispersed; the Earl of Stafford, Sir Walter Blount, and two other knights, who wore the royal arms to deceive the enemy, were slain; the royal standard was cast down, and Henry of Monmouth, the young

* This defiance is given at length by Hall, who, however, has confounded Sir Edmund Mortimer with the Earl of March, in which mistake he has been followed by Shakspeare, and even by some modern historians: for example, by Bishop Kennet, in his 'Complete History.' The most correct copy of the document is that given in Sir H. Ellis's edition of Hardyng's Chronicle, from the Harleian MS. 42.

Prince of Wales, was sorely wounded in the face—notwithstanding which he never ceased to fight where the battle was strongest, or to encourage his men when their hearts were faintest. The charge of the Percy and the Douglas was not well supported; they could nowhere find the king, who fought in plain armour: the royal lines, through which they had broken, formed again, and closed in their rear; and when they turned to cut through them, they found them immovable as a wall, and they were assailed on all sides by murderous flights of arrows. Hotspur, after fighting against fearful odds, was struck by a random arrow, which pierced his brain, and when his death was known, his followers lost heart and fled on all sides. Henry raised the cry of "Victory and Saint George!" Douglas, in his flight, fell over a precipice, and being much hurt, was made prisoner. There were also taken Hotspur's uncle, the Earl of Worcester, the Baron of Kinderton, Sir Richard Vernon, and many others of inferior consequence. Douglas was treated as a foreign knight, and kindly entertained; but Worcester, Kinderton, and Vernon were considered as rebels, and their heads were struck off on the field of battle. The numbers that fell in actual combat were prodigious.*

Old Percy, the Earl of Northumberland, who had recovered from his sickness, was marching with a considerable force to join the insurgent army, when the sad tidings were brought him of the death of his son, Hotspur, and his brother Worcester; upon which he turned back in despair, dismissed his retainers, and shut himself up in the castle of Warkworth. He was obliged, however, to surrender himself into the king's hands; and this he did, meanly asserting that his son had acted all along contrary to his wishes and to his express commands. Henry was only cruel on certain great occasions: he acted mildly with Northumberland, who, after presenting a petition to Parliament, was pardoned and dismissed, without any fines or penalties.†

Soon after the battle of Shrewsbury, Prince Henry was

* Otterb.—Hall.—Rymer. † Rot. Parl.

sent into Wales against Owen Glendower, whom he defeated in one or two skirmishes. During this season of difficulties, the conduct of the French was at once paltry and dishonourable: they not only attacked Guienne, but made frequent descents on our coast, and plundered every English ship they could surprise at sea. They captured a whole fleet of merchantmen; they took the isles of Jersey and Guernsey, and they made a descent near Plymouth, at the critical moment when Henry was occupied by the Percies. On learning the result of the battle of Shrewsbury, they retired to their ships, but not before burning the town of Plymouth, and plundering the whole neighbourhood. In this expedition three princes of the house of Bourbon took part; but all this while no war was declared, and the French court pretended that everything of the sort was against their will and orders. Reprisals were made on the French coast; the English sailors associated as they had done in the time of Edward I., and, without any direct commission, carried on war on their own account, capturing ships on the high seas, burning the towns on the coast, and not unfrequently penetrating far into the interior of France.*

A.D. 1404.—"It is most strange," says an old historian, "that King Richard was not suffered to be dead after he had so long a time been buried."† One Serle, or Serle, who had been a gentleman of the bedchamber to King Richard, and who, according to some, had been engaged in the mysterious murder of the Duke of Gloucester, was tempted over from France by a report that his old master had escaped, and was living in Scotland. Instead of Richard, it appears that he found the court-fool—a certain Ward,—who bore some resemblance to the unfortunate king, and that he (Serle) persuaded the poor buffoon to personate Richard. Serle's next performance was to counterfeit Richard's privy seal, and to despatch letters to many of the late king's friends in England, assuring them that he was indeed alive, and shortly would come to show himself openly to the world. These "forged inventions" produced the desired effect on many. The old Countess of Oxford, the mother of Robert de Vere,

* Monstrelet.—Hall. † Speed.

the unfortunate Duke of Ireland, either credited the story or was a party to the imposition: she caused certain of her servants to publish and bruit abroad, through all parts of Essex, that King Richard was coming; and she distributed a great number of hearts, made of gold and silver, such as King Richard was accustomed to give to his knights and household to wear as cognizances. The story gained ground, and many simple people firmly believed that the late king was about to cross the borders with a great power of French and Scots. The vigilant Henry soon learned these reports, and he succeeded in arresting Serle's secret messenger, who gave up the names of the parties with whom he had communicated. A number of monks were immediately arrested; the old countess was shut up in close prison; and her secretary, who had gone about the country affirming that he had *spoken* with King Richard, was drawn and hanged. Shortly after Serle himself was secured, and carried to the king at Pontefract Castle. It is said that he not only revealed everything connected with the ridiculous masquerade, but also confessed that he had had a guilty hand in the murder of the Duke of Gloucester, at Calais: he was drawn on a sledge through every good town between Pontefract and London, where he was executed as a traitor.*

Henry had been exceedingly cautious in demanding grants and aids from his parliament. He was now greatly in want of money to meet the charge of the war in Wales. He endeavoured, however, to escape from the necessity of applying for an aid by a proposition in which he was eagerly seconded by the commons, that he should be allowed to resume all the former grants,—that he should be prohibited from alienating the ancient inheritance of the crown without consent of parliament,—and that he should *forthwith* appropriate to himself certain portions of the property of the church, so that the commons might be eased of taxes and the king live upon his own.† If this blow had taken effect probably half of the property

* Walsing.—Otterb.—Holinshed.—Rot. Parl.
† Rot. Parl.

of the members of the upper house would have been in jeopardy. The clergy took fire, and the Archbishop of Canterbury taxed the commons with irreligion, and the impious desire of removing the burden from their own shoulders by plundering their betters. Henry ceded at once; and, to conciliate the churchmen, he assured the archbishop that it was his intention and wish to leave the church in a better state than that in which he had found it. The demonstration, however, made a bad impression, and many persons were irritated by the suppression of certain pensions granted by Edward III. and the late king,—a measure which was carried during the session.

A.D. 1405.—In the beginning of this year the widow of the Lord Spencer, one of Richard's favourites who had suffered at Bristol, ingeniously contrived to liberate the young Earl of March and his brother from Windsor Castle. The intention was to convey these boys to Wales, and to proclaim the elder King of England; but they were immediately retaken, and then the lady accused her own brother, the ill-famed Earl of Rutland, now Duke of York, of being privy to this attempt, as also to conspiracies against Henry's life. York was immediately seized, and his estates were sequestrated to the king's use without any trial; but, as that of a traitor to all parties, his fate excited no interest. After lingering three or four years in prison, he was released in mercy or in contempt. The king called two great councils of the nobility and clergy at London and St. Albans; but such was their ill-humour towards him, that they refused to satisfy any of his requests; and more than one of the barons went straight from St. Albans to the north, where a fresh and formidable insurrection was organizing under the guidance of old Percy, Earl of Northumberland, the Earl of Nottingham, Scroop the Archbishop York, Sir John Falconberg, and others. The archbisho who had given his advice on a former occasion, took r arms on this. Sir John Falconberg and three oth knights, who were the first to appear in the field, we beaten and dispersed by the young prince John, Henr third son, and the Earl of Westmoreland. A few wee later the archbishop took the field with the Earl of No

tingham, and posted himself at Shipton-on-the-Moor at the head of eight thousand men. Prince John, with the Earl of Westmoreland, came suddenly upon them. The archbishop did not fight, but, by some means, both he and the earl, his companion, were carried prisoners to the king at Pontefract Castle. Henry intimated to the chief-justice Gascoigne that he must pass sentence upon them as rebels and traitors taken in arms; but that upright judge refused, because the prelate's life was exempt from the jurisdiction of lay courts, and because both he and the earl had a right to a trial by their peers. One Fulthorp, a knight, and probably a lawyer, was less scrupulous, and without any form of trial he condemned both prelate and earl to be beheaded. Scroop died like a brave man, protesting to the last that he had merely wanted a redress of grievances, and that he had never intended evil "against the *person* of King Henry."

Having punished the city of York with fines and the temporary suspension of its charters, Henry marched northward with an army of thirty-seven thousand men. The Earl of Northumberland fled to Berwick, and implored the assistance of the Regent of Scotland. At Durham Henry caused the Lord Hastings, the Lord Falconbridge, and two knights, to be tried for treason, and, on their conviction, to be beheaded. On the king's approach to Berwick old Percy gave up the town to some Scots, and fled with the Lord Bardolf to Edinburgh. When the English came before Berwick the Scots set fire to the town and fled. The castle, however, was garrisoned, and the governor refused to surrender. Upon this Henry brought up an enormous cannon: the first shot took such effect that it knocked down part of a tower, upon which the garrison, in a panic, threw open the gates. Henry put to death the governor, with four or five of his principal officers. He did not continue his march into Scotland, but turned back into Northumberland, and soon took Alnwick, Prudhoe, Cockermouth, and all the castles belonging to the great earl. Then, from the north, he flew to Wales, where his gallant son, after achieving several victories, was hard pressed by a superior force. Prince Henry had been almost constantly

engaged ever since the battle of Shrewsbury against Owen Glendower. In the month of March of this same year (1405) he had defeated the Welsh in a great battle at Grosmont, in Monmouthshire, and taken prisoner Griffith, the son of Glendower; and soon after he reduced the strong castle of Lampeter, in Cardiganshire. But now his career was checked by the successful issue of Glendower's foreign negotiations. In the preceding year the clerk, necromancer, or devil, applied for assistance to the French. Properly speaking, there was no government in France,—the king was still alternating between the two conditions of idiotcy and frenzy,—his uncle Philip, the great Duke of Burgundy, was dead, and such authority as the court possessed was monopolized by one of the king's brothers and the queen, who were living together openly in an incestuous adultery. This precious brother was the Duke of Orleans, Henry's bitter enemy and challenger. Still without any declaration of war, it was resolved to equip a great fleet at Brest, and to send over to Wales eight thousand men-at-arms, under the command of James of Bourbon, Count of La Marche. The fleet and most of the knights assembled at Brest, but the young Bourbon prince was so well amused by the fêtes of the court, that he kept the expedition waiting, so that many of the knights, having spent all their money, returned to their homes. At last the count went to Brest, but it was in the stormy month of November: most of the ships refused to put to sea, and the expedition ended, for that year, in a petty attack on the poor people near Falmouth. Another expedition was prepared in the course of the following spring. After some fresh delays, 12,000 men in 120 ships (we believe that the chronicler exaggerates numbers) appeared in Milford Haven under the command of Montmorency, Marshal of Rieux, and the Sire de Hugueville, Grand Master of the Arbalisters. This force landed in safety; but most of their horses had perished during the voyage, and the troops had scarcely left the ships ere the fleet of the Cinque Ports sailed into Milford Haven and burnt fifteen of them. Soon after, the same fleet captured fourteen French ships that were bringing over ammuni-

tion and stores for the expedition, and it continued to do its duty so well that the invaders could never receive supplies. The French marched upon Haverford West, where they burnt the town, but were repulsed with loss in an attempt to take the castle. Burning and destroying, they marched to Carmarthen, which they took, and being joined in that neighbourhood by Owen Glendower, with ten thousand combatants, they penetrated almost to the gates of Worcester, obliging Prince Henry to keep aloof. But at Worcester the king came up to the assistance of his son, and the French and Welsh retreated a little, and took possession of a high hill. The king followed them, and for eight days encamped his forces on a height opposite. Neither army would quit its position to risk a general battle; but there were many skirmishes, in which, among others, a brother of the French marshal and two other great lords were slain. At last hunger compelled the allies to fall back upon Wales. The king followed them in their retreat; but it should appear that, engaging somewhat rashly among the defiles, the woods and marshes, he suffered a severe check at the hands of the Welsh. By this time, however, the French, heartily sick of the poor entertainment they found in Wales, and dreading the approach of a fresh English army, got back to their ships and sailed away for France.*

Prince Henry remained to carry on the war: as a mere boy, he had shown great constancy and confidence in his own resources: and among the mountains and morasses of Wales, and from dealing with an active enemy, he improved himself in that destructive art which a few years later was so fatal to France. He subdued the whole of South Wales, and made gradual advances in the north; but for a while he scarcely gained a rood of ground without fighting for it; and even to the end, Owen Glendower kept him on the alert, prolonging a struggle for independence with a spirit and an ability which have rarely been surpassed. Some three or four years after the departure of his French allies, Owen, finding himself gradually forsaken by the people, and pinched in his supplies, sent a part of his army to ravage Shropshire.

* Walsing.—Monstrelet.—Barante.

The Welsh were cut to pieces in this expedition, and their leaders were taken and executed as rebels. From this time Glendower's history is involved in doubt: that he was fain to go up and down, disguised in a shepherd's habit, to his daughters' and other friends' houses for a time is very probable, but it is still more certain that his unconquerable spirit was not subdued by misfortune,—that he again took up arms,—and that he died at last a free man among his native mountains several years after the accession of Henry V. These facts are proved by official documents which have been preserved by Rymer, and in the rolls of the English parliament. Owen Glendower's countrymen were ungrateful to the fame of their greatest hero, or, it may be, that their records were destroyed in the horrors which followed subsequent insurrections. It is neither clear where or when he died, nor where he was buried. One tradition says that he was interred at Mornington, in Herefordshire, the seat of one of his sons-in-law; another tradition states, with still less probability, that he was buried in the cathedral of Bangor, where a grave, under the great window in the south aisle wall, is still shown to strangers as the place of his interment.*

Every obstacle seemed to yield to the bravery, address, and good fortune of King Henry, who, in the same year (1405) in which he expelled the French from Wales and drove the Earl of Northumberland into Scotland, got possession (by no very honourable means) of the person of the heir-apparent to the Scottish throne.

The milder vices were comparatively absent, but in other crimes—in cruelty, political intrigue, and an infernal treachery—the Scottish court almost afforded a parallel to that of France. The poor, weak, old King Robert, after being driven from one abbey to another, took refuge from persecution in the Isle of Bute; his eldest son, the brave but imprudent Duke of Rothsay, was thrown into the castle of Falkland (March 1402), and there, it was rumoured, starved to death by orders of his uncle the regent, Duke of Albany. After this fearful tragedy, the king, trembling for the life of his second son,

* Coxe's Monmouthshire.

James, sent him on board a ship which immediately sailed for France. As the vessel was coasting to get into the Channel, she was taken off Flamborough Head (30th of March, 1405) by some English cruisers, and in spite of a truce, carried as a fair prize into an English port. Henry, overjoyed at this lucky accident, shut the Prince up in Pevensey Castle. The news of his captivity broke the heart of King Robert, who died about a year after (4th of April, 1406); and Albany retained his power by doing the will of the English king, who could always bring him to abject submission by threatening to liberate his nephew. James, who was only twelve years old when he was captured, remained nineteen years a prisoner in England; but, notwithstanding his captive condition, these were probably by far the happiest years of his life. He was treated with much kindness; his love of study was encouraged; he was allowed masters, and books, and occasionally the society of the most refined people in England. His favourite study was poetry; and forming himself on the model of the immortal Chaucer, he became the best poet of his age.

Ambitious, powerful, adroit, and not very scrupulous as was Henry, he continued generally to respect the wishes of his parliament, and the cause of constitutional liberty made great strides during his reign. At the end of 1407, however, the debates took rather a stormy character, and many discontents were awakened by the demand of subsidies.* The Earl of Northumberland vainly hoped that these circumstances would favour his great enterprise, of not only recovering his estates and honours, but of dethroning the king. Ever since his expulsion he had been wandering about the world, and labouring like another Hannibal, to raise up enemies against Henry. Finding that the Duke of Albany was averse to his project, the old Percy went into Wales to concert measures with Owen Glendower; he afterwards crossed over to France, and from France he passed to Flanders. His principal refuge and support were found, however, among some nobles on the Scottish border, who opposed the

* Rot. Parl.

schemes, and were strong enough to despise the authority of the Duke of Albany. With a force consisting chiefly of Scots, he and his friend Bardolf appeared suddenly in Northumberland at the beginning of the year 1408, and surprised several castles. The hardy warrior penetrated as far south as Knaresborough, where he was joined by a few friends of the late Archbishop of York; but on the 28th of February he was defeated by Sir Thomas Rokeby, at Branham Moor, near Tadcaster. The old man was fortunate enough to die in the battle; his friend Bardolf was taken, but he too expired of his wounds.*

A.D. 1409.—With the exception of occasional troubles in the Welsh marshes, England now enjoyed perfect tranquillity for some years; but a fierce warfare was carried on, irregularly, at sea, in which the French were for some time assisted by the galleys of Castile. The French also attacked the English possessions on the continent, nor could Henry ever obtain money enough from his parliament to equip any great expedition for their defence. By the beginning of the year 1406 the Count of Armagnac and the Constable of France had taken sixty fortresses and castles in Guienne and Saintonge: the English expected reinforcements, but none arrived, and they were almost reduced to despair. At this crisis it was resolved that the Duke of Orleans should take the command in those parts; but the duke, like the English reinforcements, did not appear, and the Counts of Clermont and d'Alençon left the army that they might join in his amusements at Paris. After this Orleans set out for Guienne; but the season was far advanced, his unpaid troops suffered cruelly from want of provisions and from the inclemency of the weather; and after gambling away all the money which had been destined for the pay of the soldiers, and doing absolutely nothing else, he rode away to Paris followed by the curses of the miserable remnant of his army.† At the same time, his cousin and rival, John Sans-peur, or the Fearless, the present Duke of Bur-

* Walsing.—Otterb.—Rymer.—Rot. Parl.
† Monstrelet.—Monk of St. Denis.

gundy, was sent to drive the English out of Calais. Wonders were expected from the emulation of these two princes; but, Burgundy's failure was as complete as that of Orleans. When he had spent all the money which he had obtained by taxing his own vassals, he returned to Paris, and laid the blame of his miscarriage on the preference shown to the Duke of Orleans, who had emptied the coffers of the state, to carry money into Guienne; and he claimed from the treasurer, who had nothing, immediate payment of his own expenses, and of an enormous debt owing to his father.* The French people, of two evils, rather preferred the Duke of Burgundy; but the queen and her paramour, Orleans, retained their power; and John Sans-peur retired to his states in Flanders, breathing vengeance against his cousin.

The Duke of Berri, uncle to both the rivals, endeavoured, with some good men, to reconcile the Dukes of Orleans and Burgundy; for it was seen that their enmity was ruining the country. The latter returned to Paris, to all seeming in a heavenly disposition. He visited his cousin Orleans, who was suffering from a temporary indisposition, and testified a truly fraternal affection. The well-intentioned Duke of Berri was overjoyed at the success of his mediation; and when the Duke of Orleans recovered, he took both his nephews to hear mass in the church of the Augustines. After mass, the two rivals, the better to attest their holy reconciliation, took the sacrament together. All this passed on Sunday, the 20th of November, 1407; and on the Wednesday following, the Duke of Orleans was massacred in the streets of Paris, by eighteen or twenty men employed by his loving cousin the Duke of Burgundy, who openly avowed the fact a few days later. According to a report current at the time, particularly in Flanders, John Sans-peur only anticipated his cousin, who had engaged assassins to murder him. The wretched king, who had a glimpse of reason at the time, wept for the loss of his only brother, and he promised the Duchess of Orleans that he would

* Barante, Hist. des Ducs de Bourgogne.

have justice done. But Charles was powerless, and Burgundy very powerful. Accompanied by his vassals and friends, and a thousand men-at-arms, the duke, who withdrew for a short time, returned to Paris, where there was nothing to oppose him, and where the people received him with shouts of "Long live the Duke of Burgundy." He had held out hopes that he would reform the government, and reduce the frightful amount of taxes and arbitrary imposts; and on such conditions the suffering Parisians were but too glad to forget his crime. But soon after, both lawyers and priests publicly justified the deed of the duke, who, it was alleged, in killing Orleans, had only rid France of a tyrant, traitor, and monster, who aimed at the crown, and who had practised on his brother the king's reason and life, by sorcery and other atrocious means. In a word, the Duke of Burgundy became absolute master of the government, and began to do everything as he list.*

The queen, whose grief for Orleans was greater than that usually shown for the loss of a brother-in-law, retired from Paris to Melun, where she remained brooding over her revenge. In the month of June, 1408, the Duke of Burgundy was obliged, by the revolt of his subjects, to go into Flanders; and then the queen, hoping to profit by his absence, returned to Paris, took the reins of government into her own hands, and, acting in the name of her son, the Dauphin Louis, who was not twelve years old, and being supported by some of the princes of the blood, she declared the Duke of Burgundy an enemy of the state, and ordered that troops should be employed on all sides to fall upon him. But Burgundy having gained a famous victory over his vassals at Hasbain, prepared to return at the head of a formidable army; upon which the faction of the Orleanists dispersed, and the queen fled to Tours, carrying with her her helpless husband. On the 28th of November the duke entered with six thousand men into Paris, where he was again received with acclamations. Yielding to necessity, the

* Monstrelet.—Juvenal des Ursins.—Pierre de Fenin.—Barante.

queen and her party spoke of a reconciliation, upon which the widow of Orleans died of spite and vexation. An apparent reconciliation, however, took place, and the children of Orleans were obliged to embrace the murderer of their father. All this was done in the month of March, 1409, in the good town of Chartres, where the princes and the other great lords swore as usual upon the cross and the Evangelists. The thoughtless people of Paris were overjoyed at this family peace, which lasted about four months. Then the Orleanists took up arms to drive the Duke of Burgundy from power, and, if possible, to death. Isabella, the ex-queen of England, widow of Richard II., and now wife of the present Duke of Orleans, died in child-bed, and the young duke took for his second wife Bona of Armagnac, daughter of Bernard, count of Armagnac, and grand-daughter of the Duke of Berri. The Count of Armagnac was a man of great power, courage, and activity; and hence, from the youth and inexperience of his son-in-law, he became the real as well as nominal chief of the Orleanists, who were thence called the Armagnacs—a name memorable in French history. The Duke of Berri, the Duke of Brittany, and the Count d'Alençon, took up arms, and joined the Count of Armagnac, with all the nobles of the Orleans' faction. The Duke of Burgundy was obliged to conclude a convention, and to retire from Paris; and then the young Duke of Orleans, with a naked sword in his hand, demanded justice for the death of his father. At this crisis the Duke of Burgundy applied for assistance to the King of England; and Henry immediately sent over eight hundred lances and one thousand of his best bowmen. This force, small as it was, enabled the Bourguignons, or Burgundians, to drive the Armagnacs from Paris; and in the month of October, 1411, John Sans-peur again entered the capital, where he was received as the deliverer of France. In flying from Paris, the Orleanists had made free with a treasure which the queen had deposited in the abbey of St. Denis; and from this moment Isabella cooled in her zeal for the party. Though expelled from the capital, the Armagnacs made head in the provinces on the upper Loire. The Duke of Burgundy, taking

with him the poor king and the dauphin, marched against them; and, after a short campaign, laid siege to Bourges. John Sans-peur had not been very grateful for the opportune aid he had received from England; and it was, besides, no part of Henry's plan that one party should crush the other, or, at least, not until he had reaped his harvest out of their mad discord. The late Duke of Orleans had, indeed, been his personal enemy; but that weak man had gone to his account, and the cool-headed Bolingbroke seldom permitted any of his passions to interfere with his deep-laid schemes. The Armagnacs, who had decried that measure in the opposite faction as the extremity of baseness, now, in their turn, applied to England for assistance; and Henry listened with a ready ear to their proposals. As their condition was desperate, he drove a good bargain. In the month of May, 1412, the contracting parties—the Dukes of Berri, Orleans, and Bourbon, with the Count of Alençon (the Count of Armagnac did not appear by name), agreed to acknowledge Henry as lawful Duke of Aquitaine, to assist him to recover all the rights and appurtenances of that duchy, to hold of him by homage all the lands they possessed within its limits, and to give security that the counties of Poictou and Angoulême should be restored to him on the deaths of the present possessors. Henry, on his part, agreed to assist them, as his faithful vassals, in every just quarrel; to enter into no treaty whatever with the Duke of Burgundy or any of his family without their consent, and to send to their assistance one thousand men-at-arms and three thousand archers to serve for three months, they paying the proper wages.* Both among the Armagnacs and the Burgundians there were still many individuals of note not devoid of patriotism—wise men who saw the inevitable consequence of introducing an English army into the heart of France. Consultations were held, and, at last, a conference was agreed upon. The Duke of Burgundy met his uncle, the Duke of Berri, at a place secured by barricades outside the walls of Bourges: great precautions had been taken on either side to prevent sur-

* Rymer.

prise and assassination; and so the uncle and nephew embraced each other tenderly over a barrier. After a long conference the Duke of Berri agreed that the Armagnacs would submit to the royal authority: Burgundy, in the name of the king, engaged that the past should be forgotten. It was mutually agreed that the party names of Armagnacs and Bourguignons should never again be pronounced; and that, without any distinction, all Frenchmen should enjoy their liberties and their property in the peace which God had sent them. The young Duke of Orleans was absent; but he soon after attended a family meeting, and swore, with the rest of the princes, to be true to the peace of Bourges. It was further agreed that the Duke of Burgundy should give one of his daughters in marriage to the Count of Vertus, a younger son of the man he had murdered. To show their perfect reconciliation and brotherly intimacy, the two Dukes of Burgundy and Orleans rode together mounted on the same horse.*

Matters were at this point when news arrived that an English army, under the command of the Duke of Clarence, Henry's second son, had landed in Normandy, where the Count of Alençon and some other nobles had joined it. The first condition of the recent peace was, that the Armagnacs or Orleanists should break off all league and confederacy with the English. This they were ready enough to do; and they forthwith sent a deputation to inform the Duke of Clarence that they had made their peace, and that he might return home, as they no longer wanted his assistance. The young duke demanded payment of the expenses of the expedition; and his troops, finding no proper provision made for them, began to plunder the country. An attempt was made, by promises of payments, to gain time, in order to collect an army; but, in fact, the money was the least of the objects of the young duke's consideration; and he marched on through Normandy into Maine, while another English division, issuing from Calais, occupied a great part of Artois. There was a sounding of trumpets through the whole kingdom, and every warrior in France was summoned to join the royal standard at

* Monstrelet.

Chartres; but the summons was not well attended to, and it was thought better to pay the English the money they demanded. The exchequer had no means, and the Burgundians said that the English ought to be paid by those who had invited them. This was a good argument, but it certainly would not have been acted upon had it not been for this little circumstance:—from Maine the Duke of Clarence had marched through Anjou, and was now threatening to overrun the whole of the duchy of Orleans. Seeing this, the Duke of Orleans hastened to the head-quarters of the English, carrying with him all the money he could raise. The Duke of Clarence received him very courteously; and it was arranged that the French prince should take upon himself the payment of the whole cost of the expedition, and place his young brother, the Duke of Angoulême, in the hands of the English as security. When this was done it was expected that Clarence would return; but this prince had no such intentions: he marched on for Guienne, and, being joined on the road by a few old friends of the English, he traversed the whole of France with an army which did not exceed eight thousand men, and got safely to Bordeaux.* Such were the last foreign operations of this reign, which was now drawing rapidly to its close.

Although Henry had overcome every obstacle except the wholesome opposition of his parliament, and had humbled or destroyed all his enemies, his last years were far from being the happiest of his life. His able but remorseless career,—his successes, even more than his misfortunes,—had proved to him the insecurity and hollowness of men's hearts: whatever relying faith he had in earlier life was all gone, and he felt that worst species of unhappiness which arises from a confirmed doubt as to the existence of human worth and disinterested affection. In his busy years, when surrounded with actual dangers of all kinds, he was cheerful and communicative, and fond of talking and mixing with the people; but in his later days he became gloomy, solitary, and suspicious. It is very probable that he felt some pangs of remorse, but bad health may have been the disposing

* Monstrelet.—Juvenal des Ursins.—Pierre de Fenin.—Villaret.—Barante.

cause; for, as long as he was well, he considered that he had only done what was best for his country, and that his constant success was a proof that he had acted under the favour and inspiration of Heaven. Both body and mind had been overworked: he became prematurely old, was afflicted by a cutaneous disorder, which some called the leprosy, and was subject to epileptic fits. His devotion assumed a gloomy cast. Before his accession he was suspected of being no friend to the church, and of leaning towards the doctrines of Wycliffe, as his father, John of Gaunt, had done before him. It was essentially necessary to his success that he should remove this suspicion; and hence probably, for a mere reason of state, he passed in the first year of his reign, with the hearty concurrence of both lords and commons, the detestable statute for the burning of heretics; and caused penal fires, for matters of religion, to be lighted for the first time in England. But it seems to have been from a more inward conviction that, in the tenth year of his reign, he pronounced the severest sentences against all Wycliffe's writings; and that in the following year he rejected a petition for the revocation or qualification of his statute against heretics or Lollards, and told the commons that the punishment should be made more rigorous and sharp.* It appears pretty evident that, in his latter years, he entertained a jealousy of the popularity of his own son and heir. It is also generally stated that the wild and dissolute conduct of the Prince of Wales was the cause of much uneasiness; but the many virtues of that prince were almost invidiously eulogized, in the latter part of this reign, by the very parliaments that treated his father most harshly; and it has been concluded by an excellent writer, that these records of parliament ought to be taken as a strong presumption that some early petulance or riot has been much exaggerated by the old chroniclers whom Shakspere has followed with such dramatic effect.† Allowing, however, the proper weight to this reflection, we should bear in mind the difference of the worship paid to the rising and the

* Rot. Parl.

† Hallam, Middle Ages.

setting sun; we should remember that it has been a not unusual practice with popular bodies to contrast the untried heir-apparent with the old king, concealing the vices and making an idol of the former; and we shall be much mistaken if we allow too much to the simplicity and honesty of the age that produced Henry of Bolingbroke. Men were as capable of pitting the son against the father at the beginning of the fifteenth as they were at the end of the eighteenth century. But still, with every allowance for policy and party feeling, Prince Henry may, in the words of another judicious writer,* have been "in the number of those aspiring youths that had mixed pleasure with ambition;" and the popular tales of his youthful freaks may not be wholly without foundation. The stories usually inserted in our histories do not rest on any contemporary authority, but seem, for the most part, to have been first told by Hall and Stow, who wrote in the time of Elizabeth and James I., and who probably took up their accounts from popular tradition.

King Henry was praying before the shrine of St. Edward, in Westminster Abbey, when he was seized with his last fit. They carried him into the apartment of the abbot, and there he lay down to die in the Jerusalem chamber; the name of which is said to have recalled an old prophecy, with the notion he had once entertained of making a crusade for the recovery of the holy city.† He expired on the 20th of March, 1413, in the forty-seventh year of his age, and the fourteenth of his reign.

* Mackintosh.

† The prophecy was that he should die in Jerusalem. It is probable that the visit paid to him, in the early part of his reign, by Manuel Palæologus, Emperor of Constantinople, who came to implore the aid of the English and the other nations of the West, against Bajazet and the Turks, may have had the effect of occasionally turning the active mind of Henry towards the then almost forgotten East.

THE END OF VOL. IV.

London: Printed by WILLIAM CLOWES & SONS, Stamford Street.